

L É T T E R S,

WRITTEN BY

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S DUBLIN,

A N D

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS,

FROM THE YEAR 1696 TO 1742.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS;

COLLECTED AND REVISED

BY DEANE SWIFT, ESQ.

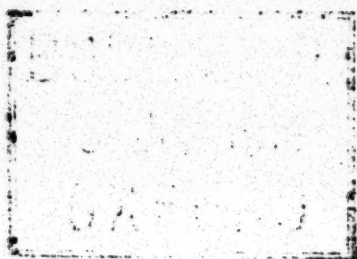
OF GOODRICH IN HEREFORDSHIRE.

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOLUME VI.

L O N D O N,

Printed for C. BATHURST, W. STRAHAN,
J. and F. RIVINGTON, L. DAVIS,
W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN, R. BALD-
WIN, T. LONGMAN, J. DODSLEY, and
T. CADELL. MDCCLXXV.



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L I T E R A R Y C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .

L E T T E R C X V I .

The Honourable THOMAS CARTER to
Dr. SWIFT.

SIR, *Henrietta-street, March 11, 1735-6.*

I WOULD have waited on you when I sent my servant with a message, but was informed you did not see company.

I have no doubt the printer will have occasion for a great many cargoes from our friend Mr. *Jarvis*.

I am very glad I had an opportunity of doing any thing agreeable to you. I have long wished for some instance of assuring you that I am, with great respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS CARTER.

VOL. VI. [*or* XXIV.] B L E T .

L I T E R A R Y

L E T T E R C X V I I.

DR. SHERIDAN TO DR. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

March 27, 1756.

I HAD a pleasure and grief at once in your letter, to find you had not forgotten me, and to find you uneasy at a thing which God only can mend. The dream, which I had before the receipt of yours, was so odd and out of the way, that, if *Artemidorus* were living, he would confess it to be out of all methods of interpretation; yet I cannot avoid imparting it to you, because, if you be not much changed, no man ever could sift a matter to the truth beyond you. 'Tis it was;

Imprimis. I fell asleep (or I could not dream); and what was the first thing I saw, but honest *Cato* in a cock-boat by himself, engaging not only a large fleet of foreigners, but now and then obliged to tack about against some dirty shattered floats, filled with his own countrymen. All were his enemies, except a very few, who were pressed and carried on against their will by the arbitrary power of the rowers. I would give a shilling, as low as money is reduced, to know the meaning of it. * * * * *

E. E. T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

3

LETTER CXVIII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Mrs. ALBA VIA.

DEAR MADAM;

I THANK my dear friend the Dean and you, for your kind warning against a cold; which, I thank God, is not among us, as I told you in my last. Whiskey, of which I take half a pint in the twenty-four hours, with an agreeable mixture of garlick, bitter orange, gentian root, snake-root, wormwood, &c. hath preserved me from the asthma for three weeks past to any violent degree. I am happy when my gaspings are no quicker than those of a very quick walker. So much for myself.

Now for your jewel of a son. I never met with any boy of his age of such thorough good sense, and so great a thirst for improving himself. I thank God, he is as you and I could wish. The dean will have pleasure to examine him. Adieu.

LETTER CXIX.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

April 3, 1736.

I WOULD have written last post; but I had such a violent head-ach, that I could no more think than a cabbage. And now all

the business I have is to make you a paper visit, only to ask you how you do. You may think me impertinent for the question; but when I tell you that I have not above three friends, you will not wonder that I should be afraid of losing one of them; and therefore I must give you some rules of regimen:

1. Walk little and moderately.
2. Ride slow and often.
3. Keep your temper, even with my friend Mrs. *Whiteway*.
4. Do not strain your voice.
5. Fret not at your servants blunders.
6. Take a cheerful glass.
7. Study as little as possible.
8. Find out a merry fellow, and be much with him.

Get these precepts by heart, and observe them strictly, and my life for yours we shall see better times in the next century.

I am now sowing some peas and beans, and writing a satire upon Mr. *Fairbrother*, whom I stile *Foulbrother* the parish-boy. It begins thus:

Thou lowest scoundrel of the scoundrel kind,
Extract of all the dregs of all mankind.
And shall end thus:

I'll make thy dunghill reputation sink,
Write thee to death with thy own pens and ink.
If you can think of any hints of a softer kind,
I beg you may send them by the next post; for
I am in haste to whip the rascal through *Dub-*
lin. Present my very humble service to Mrs.
Whiteway.

CORRESPONDENCE.

5

Whiteaway. May angels protect and keep you,
for the sake of your friends ! is the sincere wish
of your most obedient and very humble ser-
vant.

While, footman like, he waits in every hall,
His ill-match'd wife is well receiv'd by all.
Graceful and comely she, he scarce a man,
A dire contrast of scald-crow with a swan.

L E T T E R CXX.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT and Mrs.
WHITEWAY.

DEAR SIR,

May 12, 1736.

I SEND you an encomium upon *Foulbrother*
inclosed, which I hope you will correct ;
and if the world should charge me with flat-
tery, you will be so good as to explain the
obligations I lie under to that great and good
bookfeller.

MADAM,

How the plague can you expect that I
should answer two persons at once, except
you should think I had two heads ; but this is
not the only giddiness you have been guilty
of. However, I shall not let the dean know
it.

SIR,

I wonder you would trust Mrs. *Whiteaway*
to write any thing in your letter. You have

B 3

been

been always too generous in your confidence. Never was any gentleman so betrayed and abused. She said more of you than I dare commit to this paper.

MADAM,

I have let the dean know all the kind things you said of him to me, and that he has not such a true friend in the world. I hope you will make him believe the same of me.

SIR,

I wish you would banish her your house, and take my wife in her stead, who loves you dearly, and would take all proper care, if any sickness should seize you. She would as infallibly take as much care of you as ever she did of me: and you know her to be a good-natured, chearful, agreeable companion, and a very handy woman; whereas Mrs. *Whiterway* is a morose, disagreeable prater, and the most awkward devil about a sick person, and very ill-natured into the bargain.

MADAM,

I believe it will not require any protestations to convince you, that you have not a more sincere friend upon the earth than I am. The dean confesses that he had some little dislikings to you (I fancy he hears some whispers against you); but I believe his share of this letter will set all matters right. I know he has too much honour to read your
part

CORRESPONDENCE.

7

part of it; and therefore I may venture to speak my mind freely concerning him. Pray, between ourselves, is he not grown very positive of late? He used formerly to listen to his friends advice, but now we may as well talk to a sea-storm. I could say more, only I fear this letter may miscarry.

SIR,

I beg that impertinent woman, who has unaccountably got your ear, may not interrupt you, while you read the encomium, and while you give it a touch of your brush; for I fear the colours are not strong enough. Cannot you draw another picture of him? I wish you would; for he is a subject fit for the finest hand. What a glorious thing it would be to make him hang himself!

As to business, I have nothing to say about money yet a while; but by the next post you shall have two scholars notes, which will amount to about fourteen or fifteen pounds; and if Mr. — can force himself to do me justice, it will put about twenty-five pounds in your pocket. But then you must remark, that you will put twenty of it out again, and send it to Mrs. —. I have nobody after that to gather for but you; and if money comes in as I expect, you may borrow from, sir, yours. My tenants are as poor as *Job*, and as wicked as his wife, or the dogs would have given me some money before this. Mr. *Jones* swears, he will not pay you the bond which I gave you, except you come down to

B 4

receive

receive it; for he thinks it but reasonable that you should honour *Belturbet* as well as *Cavan*. Mr. *Coote* would give three of his eyes, to see you at *Cootchill*. All the country long for you. My green geese, &c. are grown too fat. I have twenty lambs, upon honour, as plump as puffins, and as delicate as ortolans. I ate one of them yesterday. A bull, a bull; hoh, I cry mercy. As I return from the county of *Galway* next vacation, I intend to make *Dublin* my way, in order to conduct you hither. Our country is now in high beauty, and every inch of it walkable. I wish you all happiness till I see you; and remain, with all respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

L E T T E R CXXI.

CHARLES FORD, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR, *London, June 3, 1736.*

THOUGH you have left off corresponding with me these two years and a half, I cannot leave you off yet; and I think this is the sixth letter I have sent you, since I have heard one word of you from your own hand. My lord *Oxford* told me last winter, "That he had heard from you, and you were then well." Mr. *Cæsar* very lately told me the same. It is always the most welcome news that can come to me; but it would be a great addition

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addition to my pleasure, to have it from yourself; and you know my sincere regard for you may in some measure claim it.

I have been engaged these five months in a most troublesome law-suit with an *Irish* chairman. Those fellows swarm about *St. James's*, and will hardly allow you to walk half a street, or even in the *Park*, on the fairest day. This rascal rushed into the entry of a tavern to force me into his chair, ran his poles against me, and would not let me pass till I broke his head. He made a jest of it that night; but the next morning an *Irish* solicitor came, out of profound respect, to advise me to make the fellow amends: he told a dismal story of the surgeon and the bloody shirt, and spoke against his own interest, merely to hinder me, whom he had never seen before, from being exposed. Neither his kind persuasions, nor the prudent councils of our friend Mr. L—, and a few more, could prevail on me. A few days after, the solicitor brought me a bill found by the grand jury, and a warrant under the hand of three justices against *John Ford*, without any other addition. To shew his good will, he would not affront me by executing the warrant; but desired I would go to any justice of peace, and give bail to appear the next quarter-sessions. By my not doing it, he found out the mistake of the name, which he said should be rectified in a new bill, and, if I would not comply with their demands, after they had tried me for the assault, they would bring an action of eighty

or an hundred pounds damages. I threatened in my turn; at which he laughed, as I should do, if a little child should threaten to knock me down. As they proceeded against me, I thought it time to begin with them; and spoke to an acquaintance of mine, a justice of peace, who sent a warrant for the fellow, upon the waiter's oath, for assaulting me, and, by a small stretch of power, committed him to *The Gate-house*, where he remained some days for want of bail. I believe his bail would hardly have been judged sufficient, if his *Irish* solicitor had not gone to another justice, and taken a false oath, that the gentleman who committed him was out of town. This perjury, it seems, cannot be punished, because it was not upon record. We presented bills against each other to the grand jury, among whom there happened luckily to be some gentlemen; and though I did not know them, by their means my bill was found, and his returned *ignoramus*. Then I indicted him in the crown-office, the terror of the low people, where they often plague one another, and always make use of against those of better rank. Still the fellow blustered, and refused to make it up, unless I would pay his expences; for his lawyer had persuaded him, "that in the end he should recover damages sufficient to make amends for all." While he ruined himself by law, he lost his business; for no gentleman would take his chair. This brought down his proud stomach; he came to me two days ago, made his submissions, we gave

recipit et

reciprocal releases from all actions, &c. and I have already received the thanks of above forty gentlemen, for procuring them liberty to walk the streets in quiet. Thus this great affair has ended like the *Yorkshire* petition, which has been the chief business of the house of commons this session. Towards the end, indeed, they found a little time to shew their good-will to the Church. It is the general opinion, that the act for repealing the Test would have passed, if Sir Robert Walpole had not seen the necessity of his speaking, which he did in the most artful manner he had ever done in his life. Several countries voted against him, as well as most of the patriots, and among others, lord Bathurst's two sons. In the house of lords, next to the duke of Argyle, your friend Bathurst and lord Carteret have shewn most rancour against ———. It is a melancholy reflection, that all the great officers of state, and the whole bench of bishops, joined to the *Tories*, could not prevent any one question in disfavour of the Church.

I am asked every day, if there be no hopes of ever seeing you here again; and am sorry not to be able to give any account of your intentions. I doubt my long letters quite tire your patience; and therefore conclude with assuring you, that nobody wishes you all happiness more than I do, who am most entirely yours, &c.

L E T T E R CXXII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

June 3, 1735.

MR. *Lucas* is now in *Dublin*, who will pay that small bill on demand. I hope Mr. — will not disappoint us, and then poor Mrs. — will be relieved. I must set out soon for *Dublin*. At my return, I will wait upon you to bring you home with me. The weather must and shall be good; and you must and shall be in your health; and you must and shall come with me.

My walk it is finish'd,
 My money diminish'd :
 But when you come down,
 I'll hold you a crown
 You'll soon make me rich,
 Or I'll die in a ditch.

Pray think of things beforehand, and do not be as giddy as usual. The walk is an hundred and twelve yards long : I hope that will please you. My rolling-stone cost me dear. If I should ever grow rich, as God forbid I should, I would buy two hogheads of wine at once. You must know I have bought turf for you, which burns like so many tapers. My son writes me word that Mr. *Vesey's* family are angry with me for inserting some
 lines

lines in the *Legion Club* touching him. Upon my soul, I never inserted one line in it: and upon the whole, I care not whether they believe me or not. All my garden things are in top-order. Are not you sick of *Dublin* this hot weather? how can you stew in such an oven? My sheep begin now to fatten; I hope they will please you very well. You saw the king's speech, I suppose. I am glad to find by it, that he resolves to stand by us. Our breains here are exceeding good and fat; we dress them with carp sauce. Doctor *Walmsley* writes me word, by last post, that they are making way to bring me to *Armagh*. *Martin* is quite outrageous mad, and his relations are now taking out a writ of lunacy; so that, if my lord *Orrery* would only mention me to the lord primate, it would do. I know my lord chancellor is so well inclined towards me, that he would willingly join in the request. Consider, the lands are worth four hundred a year, and the situation much more advantageous. This must be a secret, upon several accounts. So much for business, and no more. My artichokes, I do not mean my *bearty jokes*, are in great plenty; so are my strawberries. I hear that the czarina, *Kouli Khan*, and the emperor, will overrun *Turkey*. You will not know my house when you see it next, it will be so altercated. Pray what says goody *Whiteway* to the world? I hear she gives herself strange airs of late, in calling me nothing but *Sheridan*. This comes of too much familiarity. When I
come

come next to your house, I shall make her keep her distance, especially when company is present; for she wants to be pulled down. My young turnips, carrots, beans, and peas, are in fine order; you must pay half a crown a quart, if you eat any. I shall be very reasonable as to the rest of your diet.

You shall want nothing fit for mortal man
To eat or drink, 'tis all that I do can.
And all that's expedient,
From your most obedient,

L E T T E R CXXIII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

June 5, 1736.

I AM so tormented, and have been for eight days, with the p—s, that I lie stretched in my bed as I now write; however, I think they begin to be easier, and I have hopes that I shall be able to attend in my school on *Monday*. Surely no person can be so stupid as to imagine you wrote the panegyric on the *Legion Club*. I have seen and read it in various editions, which indeed makes me imagine every body to be its author; and what they have done to deserve such treatment, is to me a mystery.

I never writ in this posture before; and therefore wonder not if lines and words be crooked. My pains are likewise great; and there-

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therefore, whether I will or not, I must take pains with this letter.

Now as to your coming down here, the weather will be good, the roads pleasant, and my company likewise, to set out with you from *Dublin* on *Thursday* fortnight, and to bring you here in three days. I have three deer-parks at my command; *Coot's*, *Fleming's*, and *Hamilton's*. I have at present forty chicken, all fat; twenty sheep of my own, and sixteen lambs (for lamb will be in season a month longer), geese, turkeys, &c.

My hens are hatching, my house is thatching,
My geese a gagling, my wife a dragling,
My corn a thrashing, my sheep a washing,
My turt a drawing, my timber sawing,
My gravel-walk raking, my rolling-stone making,

My ale a brewing, myself a stewing,
My boys a teaching, my webs a bleaching,
My daughter's reading, my garden weeding,
My lime a burning, my milk a churning.

In short, all nature seems to be at work,
Busy as *Kouly Khan* against the *Turk*.

I do not wonder that Mr. *Towers* has discarded that graceless whelp; but I wonder more he kept him above a week. He has a genius for mischief, would jade even the devil to attend him. If Mrs. *Whiteaway* will prove false, I have willows enough to crown me, and ladies enough here to pick and chuse where I like best. The *Summer* has brought them and the flies in great abundance into our country;

county; the latter I think indeed less troublesome. All of them long for your coming; but I know not whether you long for them. I am grieved to hear you have lost so much flesh, which indeed is my present case. If my skin were dry, my bones would rattle like a bag of bobbins. However, I make no doubt but to plump us both up, by the help of some housewife's remedies. My poor dear wife has run mad for joy of your coming: she swears by all the dirt about her, which is a cart-load, that you are more welcome than a dram to her. Sure I have a gravel-walk finished twelve perches in length, eight gradations of peas, which will last you to *October*. You cannot imagine what a good housewife I am grown; my garden is well stocked; I have every thing but money: but that is neither here nor there. Mr. Jones will order the money by first opportunity. May all happiness attend you!

L E T T E R CXXIV.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

June 23, 1736.

IF you can believe me, I can assure you, that we have a great plenty of flies at *Caran*; and let me whisper you in this letter, *nec desunt pediculi nec pulices*; but I beseech you not to speak of it. *Si me non fallit observatio*, we shall have more of the *Egyptian* plagues, *quippe multitudo militum die crastino adven-*
tura

tura est in Cavanniam nostram. I do not know what the devil they will do for meat. *De nostro cibo, nisi furtim aut vi abripiant, uxor me capiat, si gustaverint.* The ladies are already bespeaking seats in my field upon the hill, *Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.* Ho, brave colonels, captains, lieutenants, and cornets, *adeo hic splendentes congregantur ut ipsis pavonibus pudorem incutiunt,* of which I am an eye-witness, *dejectis capitibus caudas demittunt.* Our bakers are all so busy upon this occasion, that they double the heat of the weather, *atque urunt officinas.* But when the army fires on Friday, *proh Jupiter! infernum redolebunt et spirabunt.* The noise of guns, the neighing of the horses, and the womens tongues, *cælum atque terras miscebunt.*

Grouse pouts are come in,
 I've some in my bin,
 To butter your chin;
 When done with our din—
 —ner, through thick and thin
 We'll walk out and in,
 And care not a pin
 Who thinks it a sin.
 We make some folks grin,
 By lashing their kin, &c.

I could not mention troop-horses, *quin Pegasus noster ludit exultim ut vides; sed jam stabulo inclusus de versibus nihil amplius.* You may be surprized at this motley epistle; but
 you

you must know that I fell upon my head the other day, and the fall shook away half my *English* and *Latin*, *cum omnia lingua Gallica, Hispanica, necnon Italica*. I would rather indeed my wife had lost her one tongue *totoliter*, *quoniam equidem nullus dubito nisi raticitus evelleretur tonitruum superaret*.

I wish your reverence were *here*, to bear the trumpets ;

Mistake me not, for I mean not the strumpets.

Well, when will you come down, or will you come at all? I think you may, can, might, could, would, or ought to come. My house is enlarging, and you may now venture to bring your own company with you; namely, the provost, archdeacon *Walls*, the bishop of *Clogher*, and —, by way of enlivening the rest. Do not let my lord *Orrery* come with them; for I know they will not be pleased with his company. My love to my sweetheart Mrs. *Whiteway*, if she continues constant; if not, my hatred and my gall. Excuse my haste. I hope by the next post to make up for this short epistle. I am, dear Sir, with all affection and respect, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

I send you a letter from Mr. *Carte*.

LET.

L E T T E R CXXV.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

July 6, 1736.

I SUSPECT that some secret villain has prevented the lord chancellor's signing my committion; and therefore I entreat the favour of you to know the meaning of it from his excellency; for I had his consent, by a recommendation from my lord chief baron *Marley*, and Mr. justice *Ward*. The summer is going off fast, so are my best fowl; and you are not yet come. Will you not come for your six hundred and sixty pounds? We have no way to carry it, except you come for it yourself: and do not forget to bring the deed of sale with you for the *Marabills* and *Drumcor*. I wish you could sail with them hither, to save you the trouble of riding; which I would rather see than fifty pounds, which I would set my hand and seal to. Mr. *Jones*, as I told you before, will not pay any body but yourself; so that you must inevitably come *volens volens*, right or wrong, whether you can or not. Our venison is plenty: our weather too hot for its carriage. We have not had two hundred drops of rain these six weeks past.

Our river is dry,
And fiery the sky;
I fret and I fry,
Just ready to die:

Oh,

L I T E R A R Y

Oh, where shall I fly
 From *Phæbus's* eye?
 In bed, when I lye,
 I soak like a pyc;

And I sweat, oh, I sweat, like a hog in a sty.

I know you love *Alexandrines*; for which reason I closed the above madrigal with one. I think it is of a very good proportion, which I hope you will set to musick; and pray let me have a bass, and second treble, with what other decorations and graces, you can better design than I can direct. To let you see you can want for nothing, if you come to *Cavan*, I write you the following catalogue:

Good road,	Fat venison,
A clean house,	Small mutton,
A hearty welcome,	Green peas,
Good ale,	Good water,
Good beer,	Good wine,
Good bread,	Young ducks,
Good bed,	Young lambs,
Young turkeys,	Grouse pouts,
Young beans,	Fine trouts,
Right bacon,	Carrots,
Cauliflowers,	Parsnips, <i>Item</i>
Young chicken,	

A LONG GRAVEL WALK—

I must trouble your Reverence with a small sample of some things, to let you see that all I have said is truth.

REFE.

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REFERENCES.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Artichok. | 16 <i>Silesia</i> lettuce. |
| 2 Carrot. | 17 Thyme. |
| 3 Parsnip. | 18 Sweet marjoram. |
| 4 Raspberries. | 19 A <i>Cavan</i> fly, and |
| 5 Gooseberries. | 2 thousand things |
| 6 Currants, red. | beside. |
| 7 Currants, black. | 20 Some of my gravel |
| 8 Purslain. | walk. |
| 9 Kidney beans. | 21 Nasturtium. |
| 10 Common beans. | 22 Cucumber. |
| 11 Red cabbage. | 23 Orange. |
| 12 Common cabbage. | 24 Spinage. |
| 13 Turnip. | 25 Onion. |
| 14 Cauliflowers. | 26 Pea. |
| 15 Cols lettuce. | |

I would send you some of my canal, but the paper could not hold it.

I have nothing more to send but my best wishes, which you can only see in my face, when you come down.

Present my love 9678946846734056789897324 times to my dear Mrs. *Whiterway*, and all her chicken. I am, dear Sir, as I ever must be, your most obedient and very humble servant to command, Dumb Spur it us hosc rage
art us.

LET.

L E T T E R CXXVI.

CHARLES FORD, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

London, July 8, 1736.

YOU cannot imagine how much I was transported to see a superscription in your hand, after two years and a half intermission. The pleasure I had, in not being quite forgot, was soon abated by what you say of your ill health. I doubt you live too much by yourself; and retirement makes the strongest impression upon those who are formed for mirth and society. I have not been these thirty years without a sett of cheerful companions, by herding with new ones as the old marry and go off: Why have not you a succession of *Grattans* and *Jacksons*? Whatever resentment the men in power may have, every body else would seek your company upon your own terms; and for those in great stations, I am sure, at this time, you would be ashamed to be well with them. If they hate you, it is because they fear you, and know your abilities better than you seem to do yourself: even in your melancholy you write with too much fire for broken spirits. Your giddiness and deafness give me the utmost concern; though I believe you would be less subject to them, and as well taken care of here: nor need you sponge for a dinner, since you would be invited to two or three places every

every day. I will say no more upon this subject, because I know there is no persuading you.

My legs have been swelled many years: it is above twelve since *Beaufort* gave me a prescription for them, which I never took till last winter. My lord *Lichfield*, and other of my acquaintance, persuaded me to it; and they tell me it has had its effect, for I am no judge either of my own bad looks, or large legs, having always found myself perfectly well, except when I had my fever four years ago. I walk constantly every day in the *Park*, and am forced to be both temperate and sober, because my meat is so much overdone that I do not like it, and my dining acquaintance reserve themselves for a second meeting at night, which I obstinately refuse.

If your rents fall, I do not know what must become of us. I have considerable losses every year; and yet I think *Croftwaite* a very honest man. Rents for some time have been ill paid here as well as in *Ireland*; and farms slung up every day, which have not been raised since king *Charles* the First's time. The graziers are undone in all parts, and it is bad enough with the farmers. One cause is, their living much higher than they did formerly: another is, the great number of inclosures made of late, enough to supply many more people than *England* contains. It is certain, all last year a man came off well if he could sell a fat ox at the price he bought him lean. The butchers, by not lowering their meat in proportion, have been the only gainers.

I ge-

I generally hear once a month or oftener from my sister. She writes to me with great affection; but I find she is still wrong-headed, and will be so as long as she lives. As she expected unreasonable presents, she makes them much more unreasonably; and, in my opinion, so ill judged, that I do not wonder more at her than at those who receive them. I see no difference in giving thirty or forty guineas, or in paying thirty or forty guineas for a thing the person you give it to must have paid. I have heard no reason to doubt lord *Masbam*. I know nothing of his son, not even by sight. Our friend *Lewis* is in constant duty with his sick wife, who has been some years dying, and will not die. Unless he calls, as he does upon me for a quarter of an hour at most twice in a year, there is no seeing him. I heartily wish you health and prosperity; and am ever, most sincerely, your, &c.

My lord *Masbam* was extremely pleased with your remembering him, and desired me to make his compliments to you.

L E T T E R CXXVII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

July 20, 1736.

I RECEIVED yours some day or other this week, by the hands of Mrs. *Donaldson*, who has made affidavit before our town magistrate,

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gistrate, that I never borrowed a fly of her in my life; and I have likewise depofed upon oath, that I caught the fly perched upon a rofe tree in my own garden; and I would have you to know, that I have above four hundred thoufand of the fame fpecies; for I counted them laft *Sunday*. If you will not believe me, pray come down and fee. Mr. *Jones* has your fix hundred and fixty pounds ready, but can get no bills to remit it. I befeech you, lofe no time; for he is uneasy about it. * * * * *

If you put off the time of coming down longer, you will lofe the beft things our country can afford. The ladies are full of your coming; viz.

My wife ^k ,	Mrs. <i>White</i> ,
2 ladies <i>Laneſborough</i> ,	Mrs. <i>Nesbitt</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Maxwell</i> ,	Her 5 daughters,
Mrs. <i>Fitzmaurice</i> ,	Mrs. <i>Stephens</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Hort</i> ,	Mrs. and Miſs <i>Clement</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Hamilton</i> ,	Miſs <i>Tigbe</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Sanderſon</i> ,	Mrs. <i>Coote</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Naburgh</i> ,	Miſs <i>Pratt</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Cromer</i> ,	Mrs. <i>Fitzherbert</i> ,
Mrs. <i>Jones</i> ,	Beauty <i>Copeland</i> ,
Miſs <i>Brooke</i> , 1, 2, 3, 4,	All your <i>Cavan</i> miſ-
Ec. Ec. Ec.	treſſes.

News.

Doctor *Thompson's* ſervant almoſt cudgeled him to death, going from a chriſtening.

^k Who, by the by, hated Dr. *Swift* above all the human race.

C

Colonel

Colonel *Nuburgh's* fine arched market-house;
quite finished with a grand cupola on the top;
fell flat to the earth. It is now begun upon
again. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Grouse pouts,
Fine trouts,
Right venison
For my benison.

Leave your stinking town in haste,
For you have no time to waste.

Let me know what day I shall meet you.
Price and I will stretch to *Virginia*. That all
happiness may for ever attend you, is the sincere
wish of, dear Sir, your most obedient and very
humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

L E T T E R CXXVIII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

July 31, 1736.

I WENT to *Belturber* immediately upon the
receipt of your letter, and found Mr. *Jones*
ready for Mr. *Henry's* draught, and glad of it;
and so am I—But you are a very fine lawyer;
in calling your deed of sale a mortgage—In-
stead of canceling, there is more to be done:
you must not only cancel, but you must re-
convey to me, in as formal a manner as if you
sold to me—Pray ask advice, and *do not do*
things hand over-head as you were going to do
(observe

(observe my style¹) like me. If I had not sworn never to set my foot in *Dublin*, except I were to pass through it for *England*^m, I would go thither next vacation; but I have sworn solemnly I will not—If I had my few friends out of it, I would not care that all the rest were petrified.

Now you must know that I forbid you the town of *Cavan* as strenuously as I invited you to it; for the small-pox is the broom of death at present, and sweeps us off here by dozens—I never had it, which gives me some little palpitations, but no great fear.—As soon as I can get five hundred pounds in my pocket, to make a figure with, I may perhaps honour your metropolis with my presence; and that may be sooner than you imagine, for I have a guinea, a moidore, a cobb, and two *Manks* pence, towards it already—You may think I swagger, but as I hope to be saved it is true.

How grieved I am that I am out of the way while Doctor *King* is in *Dublin*! I wish with all my soul he would take a frolick to come hither, because he would cost me no wine, and I have the best water in *Ireland*.

My collection of witty sayings, &c. is finished, if I had any friends to recommend them. The best wares of that kind will not go off otherwise. Doctor *King* promised me

¹ This was exactly *Swift's* style to *Sberidan* upon many occasions; and now *Sberidan*, in his pleasant manner, returns the compliment.

^m *Sberidan* never crossed the Channel to *England* in his whole life.

his friendship at *Oxford*. If you would speak a kind word to the publick in their behalf, I know they would bring me in *l'argent*, which I now want as much as I formerly did the gift of retention, when I had enough. But—
That—is—neither—here—nor there—

My son—I can affirm, is thoroughly reformed; and, as an argument of it, I must acquaint you that his mother finds fault with every thing he does.

My son—is so far poisoned by the serpent his mother, that I cannot get him home, although I sent horses for him. * * * * *
* * * * * May all happiness attend you! is the sincere wish of, dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

L E T T E R CXXIX.

Lady HOWTH to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

August 6, 1736.

I DO not know how this letter may be received, since I never had the favour of an answer of my last. I impute it to the neglect of the post, or any thing rather than to think I am forgot by my old friend. I am now in *Connaught*, where I assure you I spend the least of my time at cards. I am on horseback almost every day, to view the beauties of *Connaught*, where I am told you have been. I live greatly under ground; for I view all the places

places under ground. I make nothing of going down sixty steps. I really think, could you lend me a little of your brains, I should be able to come nigh *Addison* in several of his descriptions of *Italy*; for, upon my word, I think there are several very remarkable things. As you took a journey last winter to *Cavan*, my lord and I hope you will take one to the county of *Kilkenny* this winter, where we assure you of a hearty welcome. I must now be troublesome to you; but lord *Liburny* begged I would write to you in favour of a young gentleman, one *Mr. Ireland*, who was usher to *Mr. Garnett*, school-master of *Tipperary*. *Mr. Garnett* died lately: he has given *Mr. Ireland* a very good certificate, and most of the gentlemen in and about *Tipperary* have recommended *Mr. Ireland* to succeed *Mr. Garnett*: as you are one of the governors of that school, I hope you will do *Mr. Ireland* all the service you can, which will very much oblige me. Since I began this, there came in a trout; it was so large that we had it weighed; it was a yard and four inches long, twenty-three inches round; his jaw-bone eight inches long, and he weighed thirty-five pound and a half. My lord and I stood by to see it measured. I believe I have tired your patience; so beg leave to assure you I am your affectionate friend and humble servant,

L. HOWTH.

Direct to me at *Turlaghvan*, near *Tuam*.
My lord begs you would accept of his compliments.

C 3

LET.

L I T E R A R Y

L E T T E R CXXX.

THOMAS CARTE, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

August 11, 1736.

HAVING at last, after a long application and in the midst of sharp rheumatic pains, the effects of a sedentary life, finished my history of the *Life of the first Duke of Ormond, and of the Affairs of Ireland in his Time*, I here send you a copy of that work, of which I beg your acceptance. I have endeavoured to follow the instructions you gave me, and hope I have done so in some measure. If it have your approbation in any degree, it will be so much to my satisfaction.

It hath been a long subject of complaint in *England*, that no history has yet been wrote of it upon authentic and proper materials; and even those who have taken notice of the military actions of our ancestors, have yet left the civil history of the kingdom (the most instructive of any) untouched, for want of a proper knowledge of the antiquities, usages, laws, and constitution, of this nation. *Rapin de Thoiras*, the last writer, was a foreigner, utterly ignorant in these respects; and, writing his history abroad, had no means of clearing up any difficulties that he met with therein. He made, indeed, some use of *Rymer's Fœdera*; but his ignorance of our customs suffered him to fall into gross mistakes, for want of understanding

standing the phraseology of acts, which have reference to our particular customs. Besides, *Rymer's* collection contains only such treaties as were enrolled in the *Tower*, or in the rolls of Chancery: he knew nothing of such as were enrolled in the Exchequer, and of the public treaties with foreign princes enrolled in this latter office. I have now a list of above four hundred by me. *Rymer* never made use of that vast collection of materials for an *English* history, which is preserved in the *Cotton* library: nor ever consulted any journal of our privy council, whenever he refers to any, still quoting bishop *Burnet* for his author. He never read the rolls of parliament, nor any journal of either house, where the chief affairs within the nation are transacted; and did not so much as know there was such a place as the Paper-officeⁿ, where all the letters of the *English* ambassadors abroad, and all the dispatches of our secretaries of state at home, from the time of *Edward* the Fourth to the Revolution (since which the secretaries have generally carried away their papers) are kept in a good method, and with great regularity; so that he wanted likewise the best materials for an account of our foreign affairs. These defects

ⁿ The occasional specimens which have been presented to the world, of the papers preserved in this invaluable repository, must occasion a wish that the whole were perpetuated by the press; which, from the great abilities of the gentlemen who at present superintend the Paper-office, might at this time be executed with the greatest fidelity. N.

have made several of our nobility and gentry desire a new history to be wrote, in which the above-mentioned, and other materials as authentic as they, may be made use of. They have proposed it to me: and my objections regarding the vastness of the expence as well as labour, that, to satisfy myself, I must have all materials by me; not only copies out of our records, journals, &c. in *England*; but even copies of negociations of foreign ambassadors at this court (*e. g.* of the *French*; all the negociations and letters of which, for two hundred years past, I knew where to have copied); they have proposed a subscription of a thousand a year, for as many years as the work will require, to defray this expence. The subscription is begun, and will (I believe) be compleated this winter; and then that work will employ all my time°. One advantage I already find from the very talk of this design, having

° A very curious work is lately announced to the publick, under the title of "Original Papers; containing the Secret History of *Great Britain*, from the Restoration, to the Accession of the House of *Hanover*. To which are prefixed, Extracts from the Life of *James II.*, as written by himself. The whole arranged and published by *James Macpherson*, Esq;" in two volumes quarto. These volumes are to consist chiefly of the papers of *Mt. Nairne*, under secretary to the ministers of *James II.*, and those of his son, from the Revolution to the year 1714, and which were in the possession of the late *Mr. Carte*. They will also contain the most material

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having been offered several collections and memoirs of particular persons, considerable in their time, which I did not know were in being, and which would elie no part of them ever see the light : and the manner of the history's being carried on will probably make every body open their stores.

This is one reason, among many others, which make me very desirous of having your judgement of the work I have now published, and that you would point out to me such faults as I would fain correct in my designed work. It will be a very particular favour to a person who is, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, your very obliged and obedient servant,

THOMAS CARTE.

Mr. Awnsbaw's, in Red-lion Court, in
Fleet-street, London.

material papers of M. De Robetson, secretary to the elector of Hanover; these last comprehend the secret negotiations, original letters, and correspondences, which passed between the house of Hanover and their friends in Britain, during the reign of queen Anne. Many other papers, drawn from sources equally important, will be included in the collection. N.

LET.

L E T T E R CXXXI.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM, *Cavan, August 14, 1736.*

YOUR account of the Dean gives me much grief. I hope in God he will disappoint all his friends' fears, and his enemies' hopes. Nothing can be a greater affliction to me than my distance from him; and, what is full as bad, my being so near to one who has been the occasion of it. Very rich folks in my debt have made such apologies for non-payment, that I now feel for *Ireland*, but much more for myself, because I was in hopes of being able to make my appearance in *Dublin* with a good grace—**NAMELY**, to pay some debts, which I can knot.

My poor lady *Mountcashell* has a right to a visit from me; and thither I will venture for a day and a night—and I will venture to the Deanry for another. I could wish the best friend I had in the world (you may guess who I mean), and I am sure is so still, would take a little of my advice—You may depend upon this, it should be all for my own advantage.

Now I have done raving—I must turn my pen, which is my tongue's representative, against you for a while; because I am certain it might be in your power to paint my *Siberia* so agreeably to the Dean, as to send him bi-

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ther while our good weather lasted—My new kitchen is disappointed ; so is my gravel walk ; but what is worse, his only favourite, my rib—who dreamed with great pleasure, that he would never come—I am sorry she is disappointed ; for I am certain she would run away if he had come—God forgive him for not doing it !—I will make all the haste I can out of this hell ; and I hope my friends (I beg pardon, I mean my friend) will cast about a little for me—if he does not, I will try *England*, where the predominant phrase is, Down with the *Irish*. I will say no more, but tell you that you are a false mistress ; and if you do not behave yourself better, I will chuse another. In the mean time, God bless you and my dearest friend the Dean ! I am, notwithstanding all your upbraidings, dear Madam, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

L E T T E R CXXXII.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

Sept. 15, 1736.

† RECEIVED a letter from Mr. *Henry* by the last post, wherein he tells me, “ That the six hundred and sixty pounds were short by eight pounds of your principal ; and that you expected I should send you my promissory note for that, and the interest of your money ;” which I will do most willingly,
when

when you let me know whether you will charge me five or six *per cent.* that I may draw my note accordingly. Indeed, if you pleased, or would vouchsafe, or condescend, or think proper, I would rather that you would, I mean should, charge only five *per cent.* because I might be sooner able to pay it. Upon second thoughts, mine eyes being very sore with weeping for my wife, you may let Mrs. *Whiteway* know (to whom pray present my love and best respects) that I have made an experiment of the lake-water, which I sent for, upon myself only twice, before my opticks became as clear as ever; for which reason I sent for a dozen bottles of it for Miss *Harrison*, to brighten her stars, to the ruin of all beholders. Remember, if she turns basilisk, that her mother is the cause. *Tully* the carrier (not *Tully* the orator) is to leave this to-morrow (if he does) by whom I shall send you a quarter of my own small mutton, and about six quarts or nuts to my mistress in *Abbey street*, with a fine pair of *Cavan* nut-crackers to save her white teeth; and yours too, if she will deign to lend them to you. I would advise you to keep in with that same lady, as you value my friendship (which is your best feather); otherwise you must forgive me if my affections shall withdraw with hers. Alas, my long evenings are coming on, bad weather, and confinement. O, that some friend would lodge me in *Dublin Marshaljae*!

Y^r Mrs. *Whiteway*.

Some-

Somebody told me (but I forget who) that Mrs. *Whiteway* rid your mare at the *Curragh*, and won the plate; but surely she would not carry the frolick so far. They say the primate's lady rid against her; and that Mrs. *Whiteway*, by way of weight, carried the bishop of *Dorun* and *Connor* behind her. Pray let me know the truth of this.

Mr. *Faulkner* writ to me for some poems of yours which I have. I am collecting them as fast as I can from among my papers; and he shall have them in a post or two, so please to tell him.

Three old women were lately buried at the foot of our steeple here; and so strong was the fermentation of their carcases, that our steeple has visibly grown forty feet higher; and, what is wonderful, above twenty small ones are grown out of its sides. What surprizes me most is, that the bell-rope is not one foot higher from the ground. Be so good as to communicate this to the provost of the college, or archdeacon *Wittingham*, or archdeacon *Wall*. I would be glad to have all or either of their opinions, as they are the chief virtuosi in this kingdom.

I wish you all happiness, and hope you will out-live every enemy; and then we may hope our church and kingdom will flourish, and so will your obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

L E T T E R CXXXIII.

Dr. KING to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

Paris, Nov. 9, O. S. 1736.

AS soon as ever you cast your eye on the date of this letter, you will pronounce me a rambler; and that is a charge I will not deny. How I was transported from *Edinburgh* to this place, requires more room to inform you than my paper will allow me. But I will give you a small hint; you know I am a *Laplander*⁹, and consequently I have the honour to be well acquainted with some witches of distinction. I speak in the phrase of this country: for the first man I spoke to in *Paris*, told me, "He had the *honour* to live next door to Mr. *Knight's* hatter." But to our business. I would not have you imagine I forget my friends, or neglect the great affairs I have undertaken. The next letter you will receive from me shall be dated from *London*, where I propose to arrive about the twentieth of this month. I will then put the little MS. to the press, and oblige the whole *English* nation. As to the History, the Dean may be assured I will take care to supply the date; that

⁹ This alludes to the Doctor's fine satire called *The Toast*, which he pretends was written originally in *Latin* by *Frederick Schaffer*, a *Laplander*.

are wanting, and which can easily be done in an hour or two. The tracts, if he please, may be printed by way of appendix. This will be indeed less trouble than the interweaving them in the body of the history, and will do the author as much honour, and answer the purpose full as well. This is all I need say in answer to that part of your letter which is serious: for I hope you are not in earnest, when you throw out such horrible reflections against my friends in *Scotland*. Will you believe me, when I tell you upon my word, that I was entertained with the greatest politeness and delicacy during my short stay in that country? I found every thing as neat and clean in the houses, where I had my quarters, as even you could desire. I cannot indeed much commend *Edinburgh*; and yet the stinks, which are so much complained of there, are not more offensive than I have found them in every street in this elegant city, which, the *French* say, is the mistress of the world; *Madame, il n'y a qu'un Paris*. As to my own thoughts of this nation, you shall know them, when I am out of it: and then I will write to the Dean, and give him some account of his old friend my lord *Bolingbroke*. When the Dean is informed of what that gentleman is doing, I am apt to believe it will be a motive to induce him to hasten the publication of his History. In the mean time, I beg of you to assure him, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to execute his commissions very faithfully. I

am truly sensible of the great obligations I owe him, and of the *honour* he hath done me, not in the *French* sense of that word.

I desire my humble service to Miss *Harrison*, and tell Mr. *Swift* * I shall be glad of any opportunity to do him a real service. At the same time I assure you, with the greatest truth, that I am, Madam, your most humble and most obedient servant,

W. KING.

L E T T E R CXXXIV.

DR. SHERIDAN TO MRS. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM,

Nov. 21, 1736.

I RECEIVED the vexatious account of your disappointment in the nuts and water, which were both in perfection when they left me, and for which I will make the carrier an example as soon as I can lay hold of him. I do believe this same country, wherein I am settled, exceeds the whole world in villainy of every kind, and theft. It is not long since a pair of millstones were stolen and carried off from within two miles of *Quilca*; the thieves traced and pursued as far as *Killishandra*, and farther they were never more heard of, any more than if they had been dropt into Hell. I do believe this dexterity may challenge history to match it. It has made all our country merry, but the poor miller that lost them.

* Mr. *Swift* was at this time in *Ireland*, but returned to *Oxford* the *Spring* following.

I sin-

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I sincerely congratulate with you upon the recovery of our dear friend the Dean. May he live long, to the joy of his friends, and the vexation of his enemies ! I have been for a week past composing an *Anglo-latin* letter to him, which is not as yet finished. I hope it will make him a visit upon his birth-day, which I intend to celebrate with some of his own money, and some of his own friends here. Three tenants have lately run away with thirty pounds of my rent : I have by good fortune got one rich honest man in their place, who has commenced from *Sept.* past, and is to pay me their arrears the next *May* ; so that I am well off. I will gather as fast as I can for the Dean ; but indeed he must have a little longer indulgence for me. It is very hard that the Squire — should keep my money in his pocket, when it is nothing out of his. I suppose he intends it shall keep him in coals for two or three years ; for the devil a one he burns, except it be sometimes in his kitchen, and his nursery upon a cold day. I have this day written a complaint of him to my scholar — of —, who, I hope, will have gratitude enough to do me justice. There never was known such a scarcity of money as we have in the North, owing to the dismal circumstances of some thousands of families preparing to go off, that have turned their leases and effects into ready money. Some squires will have their whole estates left to themselves and their dogs. O what compassion I have for them !

I have written a little pretty birth-day poem against *St. Andrew's* day *, which, when corrected, revised, and amended, I intend for *Faulkner* to publish. I do assure you, madam, it is a very pretty thing (although I say it that should not say it) and as humorous a thing as ever you read in your life; and I know the whole world will be in love with it, as I am with you. But how the Devil came you to tell the Dean you are no longer my mistress? I say that you are, and shall be so in spite of the whole world. I wish Mrs. *Sheridan* were dead out of the way.

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

LETTER CXXXV.

Dr. DUNKIN to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

Nov. 30, 1736.

I HAD proposed vast pleasure to myself, from the hopes of celebrating the Dean's birth-day with you; but as I have been afflicted with a violent head-ach all day, which is not yet abated, I could not safely venture abroad. I have however, as in annual duty bound, attempted to write some lines on the occasion; not indeed with that accuracy the subject deserved, being the crudities of last night's lubrications, to which I attribute the indisposition of my pate: but if they should in any

* Possibly that which is printed in vol. XVIII. of this collection, p. 420. N.

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measure merit your approbation, I shall rejoice in my pain. One comfort however I enjoy by absenting myself from your solemnity, that I shall not undergo a second mortification, by hearing my own stuff. Be pleased to render my most dutiful respects agreeable to the Dean; and pardon this trouble from, Madam, your most obliged, most obedient servant,

W. DUNKIN.

L E T T E R CXXXVI.

Dr. KING to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR, *London, December 7, 1736.*

I ARRIVED here yesterday, and I am now ready to obey your commands. I hope you are come to a positive resolution concerning the History^t. You need not hesitate about the dates, or the references which are to be made to any public papers; for I can supply them without the least trouble. As well as I remember, there is but one of those public pieces, which you determined should be inserted at length; I mean Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* representation; this I have now by me. If you incline to publish the two tracts^u as an appendix

^t Of the Four last Years, printed in vol. XVIII. N.

^u "Memoirs relating to the Change which happened in the Queen's Ministry in the year 1710," printed in vol. XV. p. 1; and "An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry, &c." p. 43. of the same volume. N.

to

to the History, you will be pleased to see if the character given of the E. of *Oxford* in the pamphlet of 1715 agrees with the character given of the same person in the History. Perhaps, on a review, you may think proper to leave one of them quite out. You have (I think) barely mentioned the attempt of *Guiscard*, and the quarrel between *Rechteren* and *Messager*. But as these are facts which are probably now forgot or unknown, it would not be amiss if they were related at large in the notes; which may be done from the *Gazettes*, or any other news-papers of those times. This is all I have to offer to your consideration; and you see here are no objections which ought to retard the publication of this valuable work one moment. I will only now add, that if you intend this History should be published from the original manuscript, it must be done while you are living: and if you continue in the same mind to intrust me with the execution of your orders, I will perform them faithfully. This I would do, although I did not owe you a thousand obligations which I shall ever acknowledge. I am, with the greatest truth, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

W. KING.

L E T.

LETTER CXXXV. I.

Earl of ORRERY to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

Corke, April 3, 1737.

I AM very glad there are twelve thousand pounds worth of halfpence arrived; they are twelve thousand arguments for your quitting Ireland. I look upon you in the same state of the unfortunate *Achæmenides* amidst tyrants and monsters—Do you not remember the description of *Polypheme* and his den?

—*Domus janitæ depibisq; cruentis*

Intusopaca, ingens, ipse ardens, atque pulsas
Sidera, (Dii talem terris advertite possem!)

Nec visu facilis, nec dictu affabilis ulli:

Visceribus miserorum & sanguine vescitur atro.

Remember also, that

Centum alii curvæ hæc habitant ad littera
vulgo

Insandi Cyclopes, et altis montibus errant.

Translate these lines, and come away with me to *Marston*; there you shall enjoy *otium cum dignitate*; there you shall see the famous *Sackisbhagh*, and his two pupils, who shall attend your altars with daily incense; there no archbishops can intrude; there you shall be the sole lord and master; whilst we your subjects shall learn obedience from our happiness—If you ever can think seriously, think so now; and let me say with the curate of my parish, Consider what has been said unto

you, ponder it well, lay it up in your heart, and God of his infinite mercy direct you!—Mrs. *Whiteway* shall be truly welcome to *Marston's* homely shade. *Hector* shall fawn upon the Doctor; and I myself will be under the direction and government of Sir *R. W.*

You tell me, I am to carry a load for you to *England*; the most acceptable load will be yourself, and that I would carry with as true piety as *Aeneas* bore the antient *Anchises* on his shoulders, when he fled from fire, from blood, from *Greeks*, and from ruined *Troy*!

Can you expect that lords move regularly? Is it not below our station to think where or when we are to go? But if my coach and fix is in order, perhaps I may have the honour to start a hare in *Stephen's-Green* about the first of next month. In the middle of *June* I will hope to set sail with you to *England*. Mr. *Pope* will come out beyond the shore to meet you: you will exchange Cyclops for Men; and if one must fall, surely the choice is right—

Si perco, manibus hominum periisse juvabit.

My next shall be longer. I am now forced to bid you farewell: but hereafter expect my whole life and conversation: you shall certainly have the choice. If you will come to *Somersetshire*, I will eat one for joy *w.* The best in *England* are made in my manor.

w The Earl of *Oxford* hated cheese to such a degree, that he could scarce bear the sight of it.

I am.

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I am so well, that I had almost forgot to answer that kind part of your letter. It is only you that can add health and happiness to your very affectionate, obliged, and faithful servant.

ORRERY.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

Earl of OXFORD to Dr. SWIFT.

Dover-Street, April 7, 1737.

GOOD MASTER DEAN,

I AM extremely obliged to you for several letters, which I, with great shame and concern, acknowledge that I have not answered; as also several remembrances of me and my family in your letters to several of your friends, but particularly in your letters to Mr. Pope: I stand very strongly obliged to you upon these accounts; I dare say you will do me that justice, that you will not attribute my not writing to proceed from any neglect of you, or from any forgetfulness: I am certain of this, that I do retain the warmest esteem and sincerest regard for you of any one, be he who he will; and therefore I hope you will pardon what has passed, and I promise to amend, if my letters would in the least be agreeable to you.

One reason of my writing to you now is (next to my asking your forgiveness) this; I am told that you have given leave and liberty to some one or more of your friends to print a

History of the last four years of queen *Anne's* reign, wrote by you.

As I am most truly sensible of your constant regard and sincere friendship for my father, even to partiality (if I may say so), I am very sensible of the share and part he must bear in such a History; and as I remember, when I read over that History of yours, I can recollect that there seemed to me a want of some papers to make it more compleat, which was not in our power to obtain; besides, there were some severe things said, which might have been then very currently talked of, but now will want a proper evidence to support; for these reasons it is that I do intreat the favour of you, and make it my earnest request, that you will give your positive directions, that this History be not printed and published, until I have had an opportunity of seeing it, with a liberty of shewing it to some family friends, whom I would consult upon this occasion. I beg pardon for this; I hope you will be so good as to grant my request: I do it with great deference to you. If I had the pleasure of seeing you, I could soon say something to you that would convince you I am not wrong: they are not proper for a letter, as you will easily guess.

My wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service; my daughter is extremely pleased with the notice you are pleased to take of her, she is very well: she brought me another grand-daughter last month: she desires your acceptance of her most humble service,
and

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and would be glad of the pleasure of seeing you here in *England*.

The duke of *Portland* so far answers our expectations, that indeed he exceeds them; for he makes the best husband, the best father, and the best son; these qualities are, I assure you, very rare in this age.

I wish you would make my compliments to my lord *Orrery*; do you design to keep him with you? I do not blame you, if you can. I am, with true esteem and regard, Sir, your most obliged and most faithful humble servant,
OXFORD.

I wish Master *Faulkner*, when he sends any thing to me, would say how you do.

LETTER CXXXIX.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Dr.
 SWIFT.

REVEREND SIR, *April 17, 1737.*

I RETURNED last night from *Derry*, where I have been for some time past, and where you will be received with great respect. I pleased myself with the hopes of finding at home an account of the time you design being here—My disappointment occasions you this trouble; and I hope you will suffer that which can do it best to plead my excuse for being to importunate.

Sir,

Sir, I take the country to be as pleasant the latter end of this, and all the next month, as any in the year; the fields are putting on their gayest liveries to receive you; the birds will warble their sweetest notes to entertain you; and the waters in the river *Bann*, when they come in view of your apartment, will tumble in great hurry to wait on you, and leave you with reluctance.

I must brag of my situation; and will pawn my credit with you in those matters, that you will pronounce it the most delightful you have seen in *Dublin* at least.

Sir, I will not conceal from you any longer a self-interest I have in honouring this place with your presence. All the inclosures I intend in my demesne are now finished, and I am ready to begin what I intend by way of ornament; but until I am fixed in the scheme of the whole, which I would have adapted in the best manner to the place, I would do nothing. I have delayed coming to a final resolution, till I shall have the opportunity of intreating your opinion and assistance after viewing the whole. It will perhaps afford yourself no disagreeable amusement, and occasion something elegant and correct in miniature, where nature has almost done every thing. When you let me know that you have fixed your stages, I will contrive to meet you as far as *Armagh* or *Stewartstown*. I will only add, that it is one that loves you, as well as admires you, that is thus troublesome to you; and that I am, with the greatest truth, as well as
 affection,

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effeem, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

LETTER CXL.

The Hon. Miss DAVYS ^x to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

May 27, 1737.

I KNOW you are always pleased to do acts of charity, which encourages me to take the liberty of recommending a boy about ten years old, the bearer of this, to your goodness, to beg you would employ it in getting him put into the *Blue-coat Hospital*. I received the inclosed letter from him this morning. Your compliance with this request, and pardon for this trouble, will oblige, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

M. DAVYS.

LETTER CXLI.

Dr. SHERIDAN to Dr. SWIFT.

CERVE DECANE,

June, 1737.

E GO longus audire a te, nunc Francisci sunt venti intus. Dominus McCarty erat apud Sanctas Catherinas ^y, qui olim manabatur

^x Afterwards Countess of *Barrimore*.

^y *St. Catherine's*, lady *Mountjoy's* villa about six miles from *Dublin*.

pie

me cum scripto, & sue ego ibam ad Dunboyn. Non reddebam ad Dublinum apud causam debebam nummum, & ego habebam id non ad cicerem.

Meus filius Thomas sedebat nuper pro scholastica nave, et perdidit id per malitiam unius domini Hughs, qui gignebat super apud asserem², et dixit, quod puer erat nimium juvenis pro juramento. Diabolus cape ingratum Socium; nam olim dedi illum doctrinam pro nihil; et sic servit me nunc. Quomodo unquam ego non volo capere ad cor, sed ego faciam optimum de malo mercato. O qualis mundus est hic! Sed ego dicam non plus. Scio quod scio; et tenebo mentem ad meipsum, et ego solvam id de cum cogitando.

Ego habeo tres libros sapientum dictorum^a transcriptos pro te in pulchrâ et magnâ manu, quos mittam ad te per primam opportunitatem, ante ut meus dominus Orrery vadit pro Anglia; nam promisit capere illos cum se, et facere pactum pro me cum praelatore.

Corrigo illos libros valde puteus, ut jubebas me, sic id ego spero non habebis multum agere; nam est non rationabile dare tibi multam molestiam circum fariendo stylum. Amica Donelson est cito ire ad Dublinum, mittam illos cum illa.

Ego habeo non ullos nuncios, sed quod nostra tempestas est valde callida, in sic tantum,

ⁿ When the provost and fellows of the university of *Dublin* meet in council, they call it a Board.

^a The Doctor's collection of *Bons Mots*.

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189.

CORRESPONDENCE. 53

ut omne nostrum gramen estustum super, et pecora habent nihil edere. Caremus pluvia valde multum, si Deus placeret mittere—Mitte me verbum quid genus tempestatis est in Dublino, & si placet te mitte ad me rationem tuæ sanitatis. Da meum humile servitium omnibus, qui rogant pro me: Ad Dominum Orrery, ad Doctorem Hefsham et cæteris amicorum. Precare cape curam de teipso, & sic obligabis tuum humillimum famulum,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

Junii die 22^o.

Unum mille septem centum & triginta septem. Servitium et amor dominæ Albæ Viæ.

LETTER CXLII.

Alderman BARBER to Dr. SWIFT ^b.

MOST HONOURED FRIEND,

London, June 23, 1737.

I WAS favoured with a letter some time since, by the hands of the bearer Mr. Lloyd; and by him take the opportunity of answering it.

I do assure you, Sir, that, as the Society have always had the greatest regard for your recommendation, so, in this affair, they have

^b In answer to a letter printed in vol. XVI. p. 189. N.

given



given a fresh instance of their respect; for they have resolved to relieve their tenants in *Coleraine* from their hard bargains; and, to that end, have put it in a way that is to the entire satisfaction of the bearer.

I hope this will find you in good health, and that the hot weather will contribute thereto; which will be a great satisfaction to all honest men who wish well to their country.

Our friend Mr. *Pope* is very hearty and well, and has obliged the town lately with several things in his way; among the rest, a translation of *Horace's Odes*; in one of which you are mentioned *as saving your nation*^c: which gave great offence; and, I am assured, was under debate in the council, whether he should not be taken up for it; but it happening to be done in the late king's time, they passed it by.

I hope you see the paper called *Common Sense*, which has wit and humour.

I had thoughts of kissing your hand this summer; but we are all in confusion at *Derry* about power, which will prevent my coming at present; but I am in hopes of having that happiness before I die. I thank God I hold out to a miracle almost; for I am better in my health now than I was many years ago.

Lord *Eolingbroke* is in *France*, writing, I am told, the history of his own Time: he is well. You will please to make my compliments to lord *Orrery* and Dr. *Delany*.

^c See the motto in the title page to vol. XVIII. N.
I have

CO^RRESPONDENCE. 55

I have many things to say, which in prudence I must defer.

I shall conclude with my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your most valuable life for many years, as you are a public blessing to your country, and a friend to all mankind; and to assure you that I am, with sincerity, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most faithful humble servant,

JOHN BARBER.

LETTER CXLIH.

Dr. KING to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR, *St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, June 28, 1737.*

I DO not know for what reason the worthy gentlemen of the post-office intercepted a letter, which I did myself the honour to write to you about two months ago. I cannot remember I said any thing that could give them the least offence. I did not mention the new half-pence; I did not praise the royal family; I did not blame the prime minister; I only returned you my thanks for a very kind letter I had just then received from you. It is true I inclosed in that letter a printed paper called *Common Sense*, in which the author proposes a new scheme of government for the people of *Corfica*, advising to make their king of the same stuff of which the *Indians* make their gods.

gods^d. I thought to afford you some diversion: but perhaps it was this made the whole packet criminal.

I have this day received a letter from Mrs. *Whiteaway*, in which she tells me that I am to expect the manuscript by lord *Orrery*. I will have the pleasure to wait on him as soon as I can do it without crossing the *Irish* channel: and as soon as I receive the papers, you shall hear from me again, I shall have an opportunity of writing fully to you by Mr. *Deane Swift*, who proposes to set out for *Ireland* the next vacation. In making mention of this gentleman, I cannot help recommending him to your favour. I have very narrowly observed his conduct ever since I have been here; and I can, with great truth, give him the character of a modest, sober, ingenious young man. He is an hard student, and will do an honour to the society of which he is now a member.

Mrs. *Whiteaway* says, "that, notwithstanding
"all your complaints, you are in good health
"and good spirits." What think you of making a trip to *England* this fine season, and visiting our *Alma mater*? I can offer you an airy cool room during the summer, and a warm bed-chamber in the winter; and I will take care that your mutton commons shall be kept long enough to be tender. If you will accept of this invitation, I promise to meet you at *Chester*, and to conduct you to king *Edward's*

^d This paper of *Common Sense* was written by Dr. *King* himself.

lodgings:

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lodgings : and then *St. Mary-Hall* may boast of a triumvirate, that is not to be matched in any part of the learned world, Sir *Thomas More*, *Erasmus*, and the *Drapier*. Believe me to be, with the greatest esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

L E T T E R CXLIV.

Dr. KING to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

St. Mary-Hall, Oxon,

June 24, 1737.

I HAVE this day the favour of your letter of the 14th, which hath given me great pleasure : however, I could not help bestowing some maledictions on those gentlemen of the post-office, who have been so impertinent as to intercept our correspondence ; for you ought to have received another letter from me, with one inclosed for our friend, in some few days after you had the packet from *Hartley*. This was in answer to the letter you mention, which I got the very next day (as well as I remember) after *Hartley* went from *London*.

As soon as I hear of my lord *Orrery's* arrival on this side of the water, I will wait on him to receive the paper. The moment they are put into my hands, I will write to you again.

I do not know why the Dean's friends should think it derogatory, either to his station

or character, to print the History by subscription, considering how the money arising by the sale of it is to be applied. I am not for selling the copy to a bookseller: for, unless a sufficient caution be taken, the bookseller, when he is master of the copy, will certainly print it by subscription, and so have all the benefit which the Dean refuses. But I shall be better able to send you my thoughts of this matter, when I have talked with some of my friends, who have had more dealings in this way than I have.

And have you at last got store of copper halfpence, and are content to give us gold and silver in exchange for this new coin? This serves to verify an observation I have frequently made, that the grossest imposition on the publick will go down, if the managers have but patience to try it twice, and art enough to give it a new name. The excise scheme, which made such a noise here a few years ago, passed here last winter with little opposition, under a new shape and title. How would the ghost of *Wood* triumph over the Drapier, and rattle his copper chains, if the spectre were permitted to meet him in his walks! But I am unawares running into politics, without considering that these reflections may occasion the loss of my letter. I have therefore done with your copper ^c.

You

^c With great respect to Dr. King, he is somewhat mistaken in his politics; for the great force
of

You cannot imagine how greatly I am vexed and disappointed, that I have been so long obliged to keep back my conversation-piece ^f. I have, in this respect, wholly complied with the reasoning, or rather with the humours, of some of my friends. They were willing to try their skill in accommodating my *Irish* affairs; in which, after all, I believe they

of Dr. *Swift's* reasoning, in the character of an *Irish* Drapier, was not so much leveled against a moderate quantity of halfpence in general (which, it is certain, were much wanted in *Ireland* in the year 1724) as against *Wood's* adulterate copper in particular, which was not worth three-pence in a shilling, and which might have been poured in upon the nation from *Wood's* mint to eternity; as he had neither given security for his honesty, nor obliged himself, like other patentees, to give either gold or silver in exchange for his copper, when it began to grow troublesome. Whereas the halfpence, sent over to *Ireland* in the year 1737, were coined in the *Tower*, by the express order of the crown, for the conveniency of the kingdom, and were not calculated to do any mischief; or in fact, could they have done any, as all people were at that time sufficiently and thoroughly apprized, that halfpence were not sterling money, or could legally be tendered in any payment whatsoever; the only use of them being a sort of change in the small crafts and traffick of the world. However, it is certain that an advertisement of three lines, by order of Dr. *Swift*, had there been occasion for it, as there was not, would instantly have stop't their currency.

ⁱ Meaning *The Toast*.

will

will be disappointed as much as I have been : for the adversaries I have to deal with proceed on a principle that will hear no reason, and do no good, not even to themselves if others are at the same time to receive any benefit by the bargain. However, since you seem so earnestly to desire a second view of this work, I will send you a book by Mr. *Swift*, who intends to go from hence about ten days or a fortnight hence. You will be so kind as to keep it in your own hands until the publication.

As I think it proper to write a postscript in your letter to a certain person that must be nameless, and finding I have but room for my address to him, I will say no more to you now than that I am, and always must be, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,
WILLIAM KING.

P. S. To the gentleman of the post-office who intercepted my last letter addressed to Mrs. *Whiteway*, at her house in *Abbey-Areet*, together with a letter inclosed and addressed to the Dean of *St. Patrick's*.

L E T T E R CXLV.

SIR,

W H E N you have sufficiently perused this letter, I beg the favour of you to send it to the lady to whom it is directed. I shall not take it ill though you should not give yourself

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yourself the trouble to seal it again. If any thing I have said about the copper halfpence and excise should offend you, blot it out. I shall think myself much obliged to you if, at the same time, you will be pleased to send Mrs. *Whiteway* those letters which are now in your hands, with such alterations and amendments as you think proper. I cannot believe that your orders will justify you in detaining letters of business: for, as you are a civil officer, I conceive you have not a licence to rob on the highway. If I happen to be mistaken, of which I shall be convinced if this letter should be likewise intercepted, I will hereafter change my address, and enrol you and your superiors in my catalogue of heroes.

LETTER CXLVI.

ERASMUS LEWIS, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT E.

London, June 30, 1737.

OUR friend *Pope* tells me, “ You could wish
 “ to revive a correspondence with some of
 “ your old acquaintances, that you might not
 “ remain entirely ignorant of what passes in
 “ this country:” on this occasion I would
 offer myself with pleasure, if I thought the
 little trifles that come to my knowledge could

§ There is an answer to this letter in vol. XVI.
 of this collection, p. 295. N.

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in the least contribute to your amusement; but, as you yourself judge very rightly, I am too much out of the world, and see things at too great a distance; and, besides this, my age, and the use I have formerly made of my eyes in writing by candle-light, have now reduced me almost to blindness; and I see nothing less than the pips of the cards, from which I have some relief in a long winter evening. However, to shew my dear Dean how much I love him, I have taken my pen in my hand to scratch him out a letter, though it be little more than to tell him most of those he and I used to converse with are dead; but I am still alive, and lead a poor animal life. Lord *Masbam* is much in the same way: he has married his son, and boards with him: the lady is the daughter of *Salway Winnington*, and they all live lovingly together: the old gentleman walks afoot, which makes me fear that he has made settlements above his strength. I regret the loss of Dr. *Arbuthnot* every hour of the day: he was the best-conditioned creature that ever breathed, and the most cheerful; yet his poor son *George* is under the utmost dejection of spirits, almost to a degree of a delirium; his two sisters give affectionate attendance, and I hope he will grow better. Sir *William Wyncbam* makes the first figure in parliament, and is one of the most amiable men in the world: he is very happy in his wife lady *Bianaford*; but I fear his eldest son will not come into his measures: this may create him some uneasiness.

Lord

Lord *Bathurst* is in *Gloucestershire*, where he plants, transplants, and unplants: thus he erects an employment for himself, independent of a court.

I have the happiness to live near lord *Oxford*, who continues that kindness and protection to me that I had from his father. God Almighty has given him both the power and the will to support the numerous family of his sister, which has been brought to ruin by that unworthy man lord *K*——: now I name him, I mean lord *Oxford*, let me ask you if it be true, that you are going to print a History of the four last years of the Queen; if it is, will not you let me see it before you send it to the press? Is it not possible that I may suggest some things that you may have omitted, and give you reasons for leaving out others? The scene is changed since that period of time: the conditions of the peace of *Utrecht* have been applauded by most part of mankind, even in the two houses of parliament. Should not matters rest here, at least for some time? I presume your great end is to do justice to truth; the second point may perhaps be to make a compliment to the *Oxford* family: permit me to say as to the first, that though you know perhaps more than any one man, I may possibly contribute a mite; and, with the alteration of one word, *viz.* by inserting *parva* instead of *magna*, apply to myself that passage of *Virgil*, *et quorum pars parva fuit*. As to the second point, I do not conceive your compliment to lord *Oxford* to

be so perfect as it might be, unless you lay the manuscript before him, that it may be considered here.

Our little captain blusters, reviews, and thinks he governs the world, when in reality he does nothing; for the first minister stands possessed of all the regal power: the latter prates well in the house, and, by corruption, is absolute master of it: as to other matters, his foreign treaties are absurd, and his management of the funds betrays a want of skill: he has a low way of thinking. My dear Dean, adieu: believe me to be, what I really am, most affectionately yours.

L E T T E R CXLVII.

The Earl of OXFORD to Dr. SWIFT.

GOOD MR. DEAN,

Dover-street, July
4, 1737.

YOUR letter of *June* 14th^h, in answer to mine of the 7th of *April*, is come to my hands: and it is with no small concern that I have read it, and to find that you seem to have formed a resolution to put the History of the four last years of the Queen to the press; a resolution taken without giving your friends, and those that are greatly concerned, some notice, or suffering them to have time and opportunity to read the papers over, and to

^h Printed in vol. XVI. p. 291. N.

consider

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consider them. I hope it is not too late yet, and that you will be so good as to let some friends see them before they are put to the press; and, as you propose to have the work printed here, it will be easy to give directions to whom you will please to give the liberty of seeing them; I beg I may be one. This request I again repeat to you, and I hope you will grant it. I do not doubt but there are many who will persuade you to publish it; but they are not proper judges: their reasons may be of different kinds; and their motives to press on this work may be quite different, and perhaps concealed from you.

I am extremely sensible of the firm love and regard you had for my father, and have for his memory; and upon that account it is, that I now renew my request, that you would at least defer this printing until you have had the advice of friends. You have forgot that you lent me the History to read when you were in *England* since my father died; I do remember it well. I would ask your pardon for giving you this trouble; but upon this affair I am too nearly concerned, that, if I did not my utmost to prevent it, I should never forgive myself.

I am extremely obliged to you for your good and kind concern for me and my family. My wife desires your acceptance of her most humble service; my daughter desires the same: they both are sensible of your good wishes for them. I am, with true esteem and respect, dear Sir, your obliged and most affectionate humble servant,

OXFORD.

L E T.

L E T T E R CXLVIII.

Earl of ORRERY to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

July 23, 1737.

IF I were to tell you who inquire for you, and what they say of you, it would take up more paper than I have in my lodgings, and more time than I stay in town. Yet *London* is empty: not dusty, for we have had rain: not dull, for Mr. *Pope* is in it: not noisy, for we have no cars¹: not troublesome, for a man may walk quietly about the streets: in short, it is just as I would have it till *Monday*, and then I quit *St. Paul's*, for my little church at *Marston*.

Your commands are obeyed long ago. Dr. *King* has his cargo, Mrs. *Barber* her conversation, and Mr. *Pope* his letters. To-morrow I pass with him at *Twickenham*: the *olimpic* *meminisse* will be our feast. Leave *Dublin*, and come to us. Methinks there are many stronger reasons for it than heretofore; at least I feel them: and I will say with *Macbeth*,
Would thou could'st!

My health is greatly mended; so, I hope, is yours: write to me when you can, in your best health, and utmost leisure; never break through that rule. Can friendship increase by absence? Sure it does; at least mine rises so.

¹ Alluding to the *Fish* cars.

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degrees, or seems to rise: try if it will fall by coming nearer; no, certainly: it cannot be higher. Yours most affectionately,

ORRERY.

LETTER CXLIX.

THOMAS FARREN, Esq; Mayor of Corke,
to Dr. SWIFT.

REVEREND SIR, *Corke, Sept. 14, 1737.*

I Am favoured with yours by Mr. Faulkner^k, and am sorry the Loss of a man, the whole kingdom has at heart, should be so much in danger.

When the box with your freedom was given the Recorder, to be presented to you. I hoped he would, in the name of the city, have expressed their grateful acknowledgements for the many services the publick has received from you, which are the motives that induced us to make you one of our citizens; and as they will ever remain monuments to your glory, we imagined it needless to make any inscription on the box, and especially as we have no precedents on our book for any such. But, as so great and deserving a patriot merits all distinction that can be made, I have, by the consent and approbation of the council, presented the box to you: and hope what is inscribed upon it, although greatly inferior to

what your merit is intitled to, will however demonstrate the great regard and respect we have for you, on account of the many singular services your pen and your counsel have done this poor country: and am, reverend Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS FARREN, Mayor.

L E T T E R C L.

Lord M——Y¹ to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

Nov. 17, 1737.

I SHALL, with great pleasure, bring in your petition to-morrow, the house of lords not sitting until then; but I find there is a small mistake in point of form, which will be proper to be set right before the petition shall be presented.

You mention the bill as if it would certainly pass, and be transmitted into *England*; instead of which, I must beg the favour of you to say, "That there are heads of a bill depending now before your lordships committee, in order to prevent, &c. &c." for until such time as it shall have gone through that, no one can declare the fate of it.

I should not be so impertinent as to pretend to direct you in this, but that I apprehend you did not know the progress the bill has taken; if you will get it writ over again, my

¹ Now Earl of B——n.

servant

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servant shall wait to bring it to me; and I shall take care, as soon as the petition is received, to have a clause ready, in pursuance of it, to except your charity. I am, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

M—Y.

LETTER CLI.

CHARLES FORD, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

November 22, 1737.

I CANNOT help putting you in mind of me sometimes, though I am sure of having no return. I often read your name in the news-papers, but hardly have any other account of you, except when I happen to see lord *Orrery*. He told me the last time, "That you had been ill, but were perfectly recovered."

I hear they are going to publish two volumes more of your works. I see no reason why all the pamphlets published at the end of the queen's reign might not be inserted. Your objection of their being momentary things will not hold. *Killing no Murder*, and many other old tracts, are still read with pleasure, not to mention *Tully's Letters*, which have not died with the times. My comfort is, they will some time or other be found among my books with the author's name, and posterity obliged with them. I have been driven out
of

of a great house, where I had lodged between four and five years, by new lodgers, with an insupportable noise; and have taken a little one to myself in a little court, merely for the sake of sleeping in quiet. It is in *St. James's-Place*, and called *Little Cleveland-Court*. I believe you never observed it; for I never did, though I lodged very near it, till I was carried there to see the house I have taken. Though coaches come in, it consists of but six houses in all. Mine is but two stories high, contrived exactly as I would wish, as I seldom eat at home. The ground-floor is of small use to me; for the fore-parlour is flung into the entry, and makes a magnificent *London* hall. The back one, by their ridiculous custom of tacking a closet almost of the same bigness to it, is so dark, that I can hardly see to read there in the middle of the day. Up one pair of stairs I have a very good dining-room, which on the second floor is divided in two, and makes room for my whole family, a man and a maid, both at board-wages. Over my bed-chamber is my study, the pleasantest part of the house, from whence you have a full view of *Buckingham-house*, and all that part of the *Park*. My furniture is clean and new, but of the cheapest things I could find out. The most valuable goods I have are two different prints of you. I am still in great hopes I shall one day have the happiness of seeing you in it.

Every body agrees, the queen's death ^m was wholly owing to her own fault. She had a

^m *Queen Caroline*. N.

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rapture, which she would not discover; and the surgeon who opened her navel declared, if he had known it two days sooner, she should have been walking about the next day. By her concealing her distemper, they gave her strong cordials for the gout in her stomach, which did her great mischief. The king is said to have given her the first account of her condition; she bore it with great resolution, and immediately sent for the rest of her children, to take formal leave of them, but absolutely refused to see the prince of *Wales*; nor could the archbishop of *Canterbury*, when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said she heartily forgave the princeⁿ. It is thought her death will be a loss, at least in point of ease, to some of the ministers.

Since *Lewis* has lost his old wife, he has had an old maiden niece to live with him, col.-

ⁿ Prince *Frederick*, who had incurred the royal displeasure, to such a degree, as to receive the following order from his majesty, dated *Sept. 10, 1737*. "It is my pleasure, that you leave *St. James's*, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess." Her royal highness had been delivered of the present princess of *Brunswick* on *July 31*. See *Letters and Messages, &c.* on this occasion, printed for *J. Roberts*. The last letter in that collection is from the queen to the princess, dated *Sept. 20*, and concludes thus: "I hope time and due consideration will bring my son to a just sense of his duty to a father; which will be the only means of procuring that happy change, which you cannot more sincerely wish than I do." Her majesty died *Nov. 20*. N.

tinues the same life, takes the air in his coach, dines moderately at home, and sees nobody. It was reported^o, and is still believed by many, that Sir *Robert Walpole*, upon the loss of his, made Miss *Skirret* an honest woman; but if it be so, the marriage is not yet owned.

That you may, in health and happiness, see many 30th of *Novembers*, is the most sincere and hearty wish of yours, &c.

If you will be so kind as to let me hear from you once again, you may either direct to me at the *Cocoa-Tree*, or to *Little Cleveland-Court* in *St. James's Place*.

L E T T E R CII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mr. FAULKNER.

SIR, *Deanry-house, Dec. 15, 1737.*

THE short Treatise^P that I here send you inclosed, was put into my hands by a very worthy person, of much antient learning, as well as knowledge in the laws of both kingdoms. He is likewise a most loyal subject to king *George*, and wholly attached to the *Hanover* Family, and is a gentleman of as many virtues as I have any where met. However, it seems, he cannot be blind or unconcerned at the mistaken conduct of his country, in a point of the highest importance to its welfare. He hath learnedly shewn, from the practice of all wise nations in past and later

^o This report was soon after confirmed. N.

^P On *Tollage*, by *Alexander Mac Aulay*, esq; of whom see vol. XVI. p. 312. N.

ages, that Tillage was the great principle and foundation of their wealth; and recommends the practice of it to this kingdom with the most weighty reasons. He mentions the prodigious sums sent out yearly for importing all sorts of corn, in the miserable moneyless condition we now are in. To which I cannot but add, that, in reading the resolutions of the last session, I have observed in several papers, that the honourable house of commons seem to be of the same sentiment, although the increase of tillage may be of advantage to the clergy, whom I conceive to be as loyal a body of men to the present king and family as any in the nation: and, by the great providence of God, it is so ordered, that, if the clergy be fairly dealt with, whatever increaseth their maintenance, will more largely increase the estates of the landed men, and the profits of their farmers.

I desire you, Mr. *Faulkner*, to print the treatise in a fair letter and a good paper. I am your faithful friend and servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER CLII.

Dr. SWIFT to Dr. CLANCY.

SIR, *Deanry-house, Christmas-day, 1737.*

SOME friend of mine lent me a comedy ⁹, which I am told was written by you: I read it carefully, and with much pleasure, on account both of the characters and the moral.

⁹ The *Sbarper*, the principal character of which performance was designed to represent colonel *Char-*
teris.

I have no interest with the people of the play-house, else I should gladly recommend it to them. I send you a small present^r, in such gold as will not give you trouble to change; for I much pity your loss of sight^s, which if it pleased God to let you enjoy, your other talents might have been your honest support, and have eased you of your present confinement. I am, Sir, your well-wishing friend and humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

I know not who lent me the play; if it came from you, I will send it back to-morrow.

L E T T E R CLIV.

Lady HOWTH to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

Dec. 26, 1737.

KNOWING you to be very poor, I have sent you a couple of wild ducks, a couple of partridge, a side of venison, and some plo-

^r This packet contained five pounds in small pieces of gold of different kinds, of which the largest did not exceed the value of five shillings. A little time after (saith Dr. *Clancy*) I sent him a parcel of tickets: he kept but one, which he said he had paid for, and afterwards sent me two four-pound pieces for more. See *Clancy's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 56.

^s Dr. *Clancy* had pursued the study of physick, and was patronized by Dr. *Helfham*; but, having lost his sight before he could regularly engage in the business of his profession, he kept a *Latin School* for his support. He has been dead some years.

ver,

CORRESPONDENCE.

75

ver, which will help to keep your house this *Christmas*. You may make a miser's feast, and drink your blue-eyed Nymph in a bumper, as we do the Drapier; and when these are out, let me know, and you shall have a fresh supply. I have sent them by a blackguard, knowing you to be of a very generous temper, though very poor. My lord and husband joins with me in wishing you a merry *Christmas*, and many of them; and am sincerely your affectionate friend and Sea-nymph.

If I signed my name, and the letter should be found, you and I might be suspected.

LETTER CLV.

Dr. CLANCY to Dr. SWIFT.

REV. SIR,

Dec. 27, 1737.

WHEN I strive to express the thorough sense I have of your humanity and goodness, my attempt ceases in admiration of them. You have favoured my performance with some degree of approbation, and you have considered my unfortunate condition by a mark of your known benevolence: from my very soul I sincerely thank you. That approbation, which in some more happy periods of my life would have made me proud even to vanity, has now in my distress comforted and soothed my misery.

If I did not fear being troublesome, I should do myself the honour of waiting upon you, if you will be pleased to permit me to do so. At any time I am ready to obey your command; and am, with the utmost respect and gratitude, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

MIC. CLANCY.

L E T T E R CLVI.

Earl of ORRERY to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

Duke-street, Westminster, Feb. 14, 1737-8.

I MUST answer a letter I never received. The Dean tells me you wrote to me; but the seas, or the postmasters, are in possession of the manuscript. Should it fall into *Curl's* hands, it may come into print; and then I must answer it in print, which will give me a happy opportunity of letting the world know how much I am your admirer and servant.

I agree entirely with the person who writes three or four paragraphs in the Dean's letter. Humour and wit are, like gold and silver, in great plenty in *Ireland*; nor is there any body that wants either but that abominable Dean, the bane of all learning, sense, and virtue. I wish we had him here, to punish him for his various offences, particularly for his abhorrence of the dear dear fashions of this polite

age.

CORRESPONDENCE. 77

age. Pray, madam, send him, and you will hear what a simple figure he will make among the great men of our island, who are every day improving themselves in all valuable qualities and noble principles.

I rejoice to hear your fair daughter is in health. I am, to her and you, a most obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

LETTER CLVII.

Miss RICHARDSON^t to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR, *Summerseat, Feb. 23, 1737-8*

I WAS favoured some time ago with your most obliging letter^u, wherein you are pleased to say so many civil things to me, that I have been altogether at a loss how to make proper acknowledgements for the honour you have done me. The commendations you are so good as to bestow upon me, would make my vanity insufferable to my neighbours, if I were not conscious that I do not deserve them; and although I shall always account it a great unhappiness to me that I never have been in your company, yet this advantage I have from it, that my faults are unknown to you. If I have any thing commendable about me, I sincerely own myself indebted to you for it, having endeavoured as much as I could to model

^t Afterwards Mrs. Pratt. N.

^u See vol. XVI. p. 300. N.

myself by the useful instructions that are to be gathered from your works; for which my sex in general (although I believe some of them do not think so) is highly obliged to you. The opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, I fancy, is owing to my uncle's partiality, who has frequently been so kind as to take pains to make persons unacquainted with me think better of me than afterwards they found I deserved. I have great reason to complain of his treatment in this particular; but in all others I have met with so much kindness from him, that I must think it my duty to lay hold of every opportunity that falls in my way to oblige him. Sir, you have it in your power to give me one, by making him a visit at *Summerseat*, where all the skill I have in house-keeping should be employed to have every thing in that manner that would be most pleasing to you, which I know is the most agreeable service I could do for him. You are pleased to wish, in your letter, that you had hands long enough to beat me. What an honour and happiness would I esteem it, to be thought worthy of your correction! but I fear you would find my faults so numerous, that you would think me one of those ladies that do not deserve to be mended.

Your letter would have given me the greatest pleasure of any thing I have ever met with, had it not been for the complaints you make of your health, which give me a most sensible concern, as they ought to do every body that has any regard for this kingdom. I hope the
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CORRESPONDENCE. 79

good weather will set you right, and that the *Summer* will induce you to visit this Northern part of the world. I fear I have by this time tired out your patience with female impertinence, and given you too great reason to change the favourable thoughts you did me the honour to entertain of me; I will forbear to be longer troublesome to you; only I beg leave to add my best wishes for your good health, that you may live many years to be a blessing to mankind in general, and this country in particular. I am, with the highest esteem, and greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

KATH. RICHARDSON.

LETTER CLVIII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mr. FAULKNER.

SIR,

March 8, 1737-8.

SOME of my friends wonder very much at your delaying to publish that *Treatise of Polite Conversation*, &c. when you so often desired that I should hasten to correct the several copies you sent me; which, as ill as I have been, and am still, I dispatched as fast as I got them. I expect you would finish it immediately, and send it to me; I hope you have observed all the corrections. I hear you have not above four or five pages remaining. I find, people think you are too negligent; and, if you delay longer, what you fear may come to

F 5

pats,

pafs, that the *Engliffh* edition may come over before you have your own ready. I am your humble fervant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R C L I X.

Dr. KING to DEANE SWIFT, Esq; ^w

SIR, *St. Mary-hall, Oxon, March 15, 1737-8.*

I DID not receive your letter of the 4th till yesterday. It was sent after me to *London*, and from thence returned to *Oxford*.

I am much concerned that I cannot see you before you go to *Ireland*, because I intended to have sent by you a packet for the Dean. It has been no fault of mine that he has not heard from me. I have written two letters for him (both inclosed to Mrs. *Whiteway*) since I received the manuscript from lord *Orrery*. I wrote again to Mrs. *Whiteway*, when I was last week in *London*, to acquaint her, that I would write to the Dean by a friend of mine, who is going for *Ireland* in a few days. I do not wonder my letters by the post have been intercepted, since they wholly related to the publication of ———*, which, I am assured, is a matter by no means agreeable to some of our great men, nor indeed to some of the Dean's particular friends in *London*. In short,

^w Then at *Monmouth*.

* Dr. *Swift's* History of the four last years of *Q. Anne*, printed in vol. XVIII.

I have

CORRESPONDENCE.

81

I have been obliged to defer this publication till I can have the Dean's answer, to satisfy the objections which have been made by some of his friends. I had likewise a particular reason of my own for deferring this work a few months, which I have acquainted the Dean with.

I must beg the favour of you to leave behind you the copy of the *Toast*, at least to shew it to nobody, in *Ireland*: for, as I am upon the point of accommodating my suit, the publication of the book would greatly prejudice my affairs at this juncture. But this is a caution, I believe, I needed not have given you.

Your friends in the Hall are all well. We are now very full.

Believe me to be, Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

Notwithstanding your letter, I am still in some hopes of seeing you before you go to *Ireland*.

L E T T E R C L X.

Alderman BARBER to Dr. SWIFT.

MOST DEAR AND HONOURED FRIEND,

London, March 13, 1738.

IT was with great pleasure I received yours of the 9th of *March*, with the state of your health; which was the more agreeable, as it

contradicted the various reports we had of you ; for you remember that our news-papers take the privilege of killing all persons they do not like, as often as they please. I have had the honour to be decently interred about six times in their weekly memoirs, which I always read with great satisfaction.

I am very well satisfied with your character of Mr. *Dunkin*, and desire that he would *immediately* draw up a petition in form, directed to the governor, &c. which petition I desire that you only would underwrite, with your recommendation, and a character of him ; which you will please to send to me, to be made use of at my discretion. He need not come over ; but inform me, as soon as possible, of Dr. *Squire's* death.

I have made your compliments to lord and lady *Oxford*, who are both well, and rejoiced to hear of your health. They give you their thanks for your remembrance, and are your faithful friends.

His lordship is very well pleased with your present of the medals, and desires you would send them by the first safe hand that comes over. Is it not shocking that that noble lord, who has no vices (except buying manuscripts and curiosities may be called so), has not a guinea in his pocket, and is selling a great part of his estate to pay his debts ? and that estate of his produces near twenty thousand pounds a year. I say, is it not shocking ? But

See the Dean's letter of *August* 3, 1738, in vol. XVI. p. 304. N.

indeed.

CORRESPONDENCE. 83

indeed most of our nobility with great estates are in the same way. My lord *Burlington* is now selling, in one article, nine thousand pounds a year in *Ireland*, for two hundred thousand pounds, which will not pay his debts.

Dr. *Mead* is proud of your compliments, and returns his thanks and service.

Mr. *Lewis* I have not seen, but hear he is pretty well.

Mr. *Ford*, I am told, is the most regular man living; for from his lodgings to the *Mall*—to the *Cocoa*—to the tavern—to bed, is his constant course.

These cold winds of late have affected me; but, as the warm weather is coming on, I hope to be better than I am, though, I thank God, I am now in better health than I have been for many years. Among the other blessings I enjoy, I am of a chearful disposition, and I laugh, and am laughed at in my turn, which helps off the tedious hours.

I hope the *Spring* will have a good effect upon you, and will help your hearing and other infirmities, and that I shall have the pleasure to hear so from your own hand.

You will please to observe, that I am proud of every occasion of shewing my gratitude to you, Sir; to whom I must ever own the greatest obligations.

Pray God bless and preserve you! And believe me always, dear Sir, your most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

JOHN BARBER.
LET-

L E T T E R CLXI.

ALEXANDER M'AULAY, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

REV. SIR,

April 13, 1738.

I HAVE received your letter of this date, and will wait upon you to-morrow morning. I am extremely sorry to find you meet with any thing that affects or perplexes you. I hope I shall never be guilty of such black ingratitude as to omit any opportunity of doing you every good office in my power.

I am, with the greatest esteem and gratitude, Rev. Sir, your most obliged and most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER M'AULAY.

L E T T E R CLXII.

Dr. KING to DEANE SWIFT, Esq;

DEAR SIR,

St. Mary-hall, Oxon, April 25, 1738.

I HAVE just now received your letter by Mr. *Birt*, for which I thank you. It is now more than a month since I wrote to Mrs. *Whiteway*, to acquaint the Dean with the difficulties I met with in regard to the publication of his History, and to desire his advice and directions in what manner I should proceed.

I have

CORRESPONDENCE. 25

I have not yet had any answer; and till I receive one, I can do nothing more. I may probably hear from *Ireland* before you leave *Monmouth*; in which case I may trouble you with a packet.

I am pretty much of your opinion about the old poets, and perhaps may confirm you in your whimsies (as you call them) when I have the pleasure of seeing you here again. I heartily wish you a good journey and voyage: but methinks I can hardly excuse you for having been so long absent from us. I wish you had returned to this place, though for one week: because I might have talked over with you all the affair of the History, about which I have been much condemned: and no wonder, since the Dean has continually expressed his dissatisfaction that I have so long delayed the publication of it. However, I have been in no fault: on the contrary, I have consulted the Dean's honour, and the safety of his person. In a word, the publication of this work, as excellent as it is, would involve the printer, publisher, author, and every one concerned, in the greatest difficulties, if not in a certain ruin; and therefore it will be absolutely necessary to omit some of the characters.

I thank you for the promise you make me concerning the *Toast*.

Your friends here are all well. Believe me,
 dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
 WILLIAM KING.

LET.

L E T T E R C L X I I I .

Miss RICHARDSON to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM, *Belturbet, May 6, 1738.*

I RECEIVED the favour of your letter last post. I was deprived of having that pleasure sooner, by removing from *Summerseat* to this place the beginning of last month, where I was sent for by my father, to attend him in a fit of the gout, of which he has been very ill these three months past. My sister, who takes care of him and his family, being near the time of her lying-in, I trouble you with this account, that you may know how I am engaged at present, which I fear will prevent my having an opportunity of waiting upon you before my uncle returns.

I most humbly thank you for your kind invitation, and do heartily wish it were any way in my power to let you know the grateful sense I have of my obligations to you. I hope the Dean of *St. Patrick's* is very well: it would have given me infinite pleasure to have had the honour of being in his company with you.

When I parted with my uncle, he proposed to make but a short stay in *England* at this time; and at his return he intended to leave nothing undone that he could think of, to prevail with the Dean and you to spend some time at his house this summer. I hope you will be so good as to give him all the assistance

you

CORRESPONDENCE. 87

you can, to persuade the Dean to take that jaunt: I really believe it would do him great service as to his health: I please myself greatly with the thoughts of having you there, and your daughter, whom I believe to be a very accomplished young lady, having had the happiness to be educated under your direction. I beg you will make my compliments to her; and be assured that I am, with great respect, madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

KATH. RICHARDSON.

LETTER CLXIV.

Lord ORRERY to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

June 13, 1738.

I AM engaged to-morrow at dinner; but I will try to put it off, and send you word in the morning whether I can meet Mrs. *White-way* or not.

To shew you what a generous rival I am (now I am sure of the lady) I should be glad to carry down a letter from you to my mistress on *Friday*. She never drinks any wine; but she told me the other day, to do you good, she would drink a bottle. I wish you would insist on it, that I might see whether wine would alter the sweetness of her temper, for I am sure nothing else can.

I re-

I rejoice to find there is some little amendment in your health, and I pray God to increase it.

ORRERY.

L E T T E R C L X V .

Lord ORRERY to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

June 29, 1738.

I HAVE but this paper left, and how can I employ it better than triumphing over my rival. *Mea est Lavinia conjux*. To-morrow Mrs. *Hamilton*^z gives me her heart and hand for ever. Do I live to see the day when toupets, coxcomical lords, powdered squires, and awkward beaux, join with the Dean of *St. Patrick's* in the loss of one and the same object? My happiness is too great; and in pity to you I will add no more than that I hope to see grief for this loss strongly wrote in your face even twenty years hence. Adieu, your generous rival,

ORRERY.

^z See the Dean's letter to this lady, vol. XVIII. p. 398. N.

L E T .

LETTER CLXVI.

Alderman BARBER to Dr. SWIFT.

MOST HONOURED AND WORTHY SIR,

London, July 2, 1738.

I HAVE deferred answering the favours of yours of the 9th and 31st of *March*, in hopes to have something to entertain you with: and I have succeeded in my wishes; for I am sure I give you great pleasure when I tell you the inclosed I received from the hands of lord *Bolingbroke* and Mr. *Pope*, your dearest friends. My lord has been here a few days, and is come to sell *Dawley*, to pay his debts; and he will return to *France*, where, I am told, he is writing the History of his own Times; which I heartily rejoice at (though I am not likely to live to see it published) because so able a hand can do nothing but what must be instructive and entertaining to the next generation. His lordship is fat and fair, in high spirits; but joins with you and all good men, to lament our present unhappy situation. Mr. *Pope* has a cold, and complains, but he is very well; so well, that he throws out a twelve-penny touch in a week or ten days, with as much ease as a friend of ours formerly used to roast the enemies to their country.

The report of the duke of *Ormond's* return is without foundation. His grace is very well

in health, and lives in a very handsome manner; and has Mr. *Kelly* with him as his chaplain, the gentleman who escaped out of *The Tower*. A worthy friend of yours and mine passed through *Avignon* about a month since, and dined with his grace, from whom I have what I tell you.

I hear nothing of Dr. *Squire's* departure: I believe I may say the matter is secured for Mr. *Dunkin*.

I have seen lord and lady *Oxford*, who make you their compliments. He thanks you for your medals. I believe I told you he is selling *Wimble*, to pay off a debt of a hundred thousand pounds. That a man without any vice, should run out such a sum, is monstrous. It must be owing to the roguery of his stewards, and his indolence, which is vice enough.

Lord *Bathurst* is heartily yours; so is Mr. *Lewis*, who wears apace, and the more (would you believe it?) since the loss of his wife.

I do not see lord — in an age: his son is married, and proves bad enough; ill-natured and proud, and very little in him. Our friend *Ford* lives in the same way, as constant as the sun, from the *Cocoa-tree* to the *Park*, to the tavern, to bed, &c.

So far in the historical way, to obey your several commands. You will now give me leave to hope this will find you free from all complaints, and that I shall have the great pleasure of seeing it very quickly under your own hand. I thank God, I am better than I have been many years, but yet have many complaints;

plaints; for my asthma sticks close by me, but less gout than formerly, so that though I cannot walk far, I ride daily, and eat and drink heartily at noon; and I impute my being so much better to my drinking constantly the ass's milk, which is the best specifick we have. I wish to God you would try it: I am sure it would do you much good. I take it betimes in the morning, which certainly gives me a little sleep, and often a small breathing or sweat.

If Mr. *Richardson* has not made you his acknowledgements for your great favour and friendship to him, he is much to blame; for to you he owes the continuance of his employment. An alderman of *Derry* came from thence on purpose to attack him, and he had many articles of impeachment; and I believe he had twenty, out of twenty-four, of our Society against him; and the cry has been against him for two or three years past; and I had no way to save him many times, but only by saying, "That, while I had the honour to preside in that chair, I would preserve the great privilege every *Englishman* had, of being heard before he was condemned:" and I never put any question against him while he was in *Ireland*. Well, he came; and, after a long and tedious hearing of both sides, the Society were of opinion, that he had acted justly and honourably in his office.

I do not deal in politicks; I have left them off a long while: only we talk much of war, which I do not believe a word on. A fair lady

lady in *Germany* has put the — in good humour, they say.

I shall trouble you no more at present, but to assure you I never think of you but with the utmost pleasure, and drink your health daily, and heartily pray for your long, long life, as you are an honour to your country, and will be the glory of the present and succeeding ages.

I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

J. BARBER.

L E T T E R CLXVII.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Dr.
SWIFT.

July 25, 1738.

THERE are but very few things would give me greater concern than the Dean of *St. Patrick's* becoming indifferent towards me; and yet I fear one of those few things is the cause I have not had a line from you since I came hither. I beseech you, ease me of my present pain, by telling me that you are well; that summer, which hath but lately reached us here, hath invited you, and tempted you to ride again.

If any thing occurs to you I can do, that is agreeable to you, if you have the least inclination to oblige me, you will let me know it.

My

CORRESPONDENCE. 93

My hurry here is almost over ; but one affair or other will detain me till the latter end of *October*, if I get away then. I cannot say I pass my time disagreeably. I have had some opportunities of doing good offices ; and, when I am not disengaged by business, I live with a few friends that I love, and love me, and, for the most part, go every week with one of them to the country for two or three days.

Your friend *Bolingbroke* is well, and at present with Mr. *Pope*. I am told, he has told *Dawley*. Alderman *Barber*, who has promised me to write to you by the next post, tells me, " his lordship inquired much about you " and your health." The alderman plays his cards so as that his credit in the city daily increases. There is nothing but the vacancy wanting, to put Mr. *Dunkin* in possession of the parish of *Coleraine*.

I hear you have seen *Pope's* first Dialogue, 1738. Have you seen his Universal Prayer ? His second Dialogue, together with a copy of the inscription intended by the old duchess of *Marlborough* for a statue she is to erect of queen *Anne*, and a few lines attributed to lord *Chesterfield*, on another subject, wait on you inclosed.

Believe that I love as much as I admire you ; and that I am, with the most perfect respect, dear Sir, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

This packet goes franked by the secretary of the foreign office, who can frank any weight.

I ex-

I expect the prime serjeant^a here this night
in his way to *France*.

LETTER CLXVIII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mr. FAULKNER.

SIR,

August 31, 1738.

I BELIEVE you know that I had a Treatise, called *Advice to Servants*, in two volumes. The first was lost; but this minute Mrs. *Ridgeaway*^b brought it to me, having found it in some papers in her room. And truly, when I went to look for the second, I could not tell where to find it: if you happen to have it, I shall be glad; if not, the messenger shall go to Mrs. *Whiteaway*. I am your humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER CLXIX.

The Bishop of FERNS^c to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

Sept. 18, 1738.

A MESSAGE which I just now received from you by Mr. *Hughes*, gives me some hopes of being restored to my old place. For-

^a *Singleton*.

^b The Dean's housekeeper (afterwards married to Mr. *Land*, another of his old servants). She died Oct. 16, 1774. N.

^c Dr. *Synges*.

merly

merly I was your minister *in musicis*: but when I grew a great man (and by the by you helped to make me so) you turned me off. If you are pleased again to employ me, I shall be as faithful and observant as ever.

I have heard Mr. *Hughes* sing often at *Percival's*^d, and have a good opinion of his judgement: so has *Percival*, who, in these affairs, is infallible. His voice is not excellent, but will do: and, if I mistake not, he has one good quality, not very common with the musical gentlemen, *i. e.* he is desirous to improve himself. If *Mason* and *Lamb* were of his temper, they would be as fine fellows as they think themselves. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

EDWARD FERNS,

LETTER CLXX.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MR. *Swift's* gimcracks of cups and balls^e, in order to my convenient shaving with ease and dispatch, together with the prescription on half a sheet of paper, was exactly followed: but some inconveniencies attended; for I cut my face once or twice, was just twice as long in the performance, and left twice as much hair behind, as I have done this twelve-month past. I return him, therefore, all his implements, and my own compliments, with

^d At Dean *Percival's*.

^e A box of soap and a brush.

abundance of thanks, because he hath fixed me during life in my old humdrum way. Give me a *full and true* account of all your healths; and so adieu. I am ever, &c.

J. SWIFT.

O.R. 3d or 4th, or rather, as the butler says, the second, on *Tuesday* 1738.

My service to all your litter, I mean Mrs. *Harrison*, &c. but you will call this high treason. I am still very lame of *that* left foot. I expect to see as many of you as you please.

L E T T E R C L X X I .

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

Nov. 27, 1738.

I NEVER liked a letter from you on your usual days of coming here, for it always brings me bad news. I am heartily sorry for your son's continuing his illness, and that you have now two patients in your house. In the mean time, pray take care of your health, chiefly your wicked colic, and Mrs. *Harrison's* disposition to a fever. I hope at least things will be better on *Thursday*[†], else I shall be full of the spleen; because it is a day you seem to regard, although I detest it, and I read the third chapter of *Job* that morning &.

[†] Dr. *Swift's* birth-day.

& This chapter he always read upon his birth-day.

I am

CORRESPONDENCE. 97

I am deader than when you saw me last, and indeed am quite cast down. My hearty love and service to Mrs. *Harrison*. I thoroughly pity you in your present circumstances. I am ever yours entirely. God support you!

J. SWIFT.

LETTER CLXXII.

Miss RICHARDSON to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM, *Belturbet, Nov. 29, 1738.*

IT was a very unequal match, that the Dean and you should join in a plot against my uncle and me: you could not fail of carrying your point. Any thing the Dean hath a hand in, is done in the most genteel and surprizing manner. I fairly own, I am caught: I would be glad to know what my uncle will think of himself, when he hears the part he acted in it. I have been so well accustomed to receive presents of value from him, that I thought it had been a piece of edging, or some light thing, which he had committed to your care to be forwarded to me. Never was I so surprized as I was when I read your letter, to think I had received a present from so great a person as the Dean; but when I looked upon it, and knew the expence it must be to him, I was quite confounded: it was too great an honour for me, who can never deserve the least favour from him: it is a most beautiful diamond; I own I am proud of finery now, which I never

was in my life before. I am highly obliged to you for your improvement of the ring: the Dean's hair and name have made it a treasure to me; and I really believe it will be thought so a thousand years hence, if it can be kept so long. I am sure it shall by me, as long as I live, with as much care as I keep my eyes, while I have them to look upon it.

My sister, who had the honour of waiting upon you in town, and brought me the ring very safe, is full of acknowledgements for your civilities to her, and returns you her most sincere thanks, with her humble service. Pray give mine most affectionately to Miss *Harrison*. I am, dear Madam, your most obliged and most humble servant,

KATH. RICHARDSON.

L E T T E R CLXXIII.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Dr.
SWIFT.

SIR,

London, Jan. 2, 1738-9.

I AM called upon, by many provocations, to prefer a bill of indictment against you, and a female accomplice of yours^h; for that, by the use of means very uncommon, which were in your power only, you have turned the head of a well-meaning country girl of plain sense, who had been very useful to me, and esteemed by her acquaintance. I have seen of late many

^h *Mrs. Whiteway.*

symptoms

CORRESPONDENCE. 99

symptoms of her disorder: it is true, that the fascination of your works had before operated strongly upon her; for scarce any opportunity occurred but she poured forth her admiration of the author, and can repeat without book all your poems better than her catechism; however, she could attend to domestic affairs, and give proper directions about matters in the kitchen and larder, &c. and when she did not pore upon your writings, or some other books (I cannot say of the *like* kind) she was at work, or seeing that things in her province were as they should be: but now truly it appears she apprehends that heretofore she had not discovered her own value and importance. To be taken notice of by a person she has long thought to be the greatest genius any age hath produced, and whom she worshipeth with an adoration that to any mortal rises almost to idolatry, hath, it is much to be feared, transported her with conceit and vanity; and where it will end, I know not. What you have done proceeded, no doubt, from a malicious intention towards me, as well as the poor girl; and I resent it accordingly, as I hope she will do when she returns to her senses.

I was greatly rejoiced, dear Sir, to learn from the prime-serjeant *Singleton*, that he found you extremely well in every respect, except your hearing; and in that, he said, you were much better than he expected. That man, who has as true a heart as ever I met with, most entirely loves as well as admires you.

This place affords no news at present. I am detained by affairs of importance that relate to my friends, and cannot yet say when they will allow me to return. I pass my time, now and then, with some of Mr. *Pope's* most intimate friends; and although I would have great pleasure in being known to him that of the present age comes next to you in fame, I shall not be introduced to him, unless I shall have the honour not to be thought wholly unworthy to deliver him a letter from the Dean of *St. Patrick's*.

Alderman *Barber* got a fall in his parlour on his hip, by his foot getting into a hole of the carpet; it brought a fit of the goat upon him, and he is still somewhat lame in his hip; but otherwise in very good health and spirits.

Doctor *Squire* holds out surprizingly: as soon as the vacancy shall happen, I will have notice, and there is no doubt but Mr. *Dunkin* will succeed him.

I am ever, dear Sir, with the highest esteem and respect, your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

LETTER CLXXIV.

Dr. KING to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR, *St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, Jan. 5, 1738-9.*

AT length I have put *Rocheſoncault*¹ to the preſs, and about ten or twelve days hence it will be publiſhed. But I am in great fear leſt you ſhould diſlike the liberties I have taken; although I have done nothing without the advice and approbation of thoſe among your friends in this country who love and eſteem you moſt, and zealouſly intereſt themſelves in every thing that concerns your character. As they are much better judges of mankind than I am, I very readily ſubmitted to their opinion; however, if, after having received the printed copies, which I will ſend you next week, you ſhall ſtill reſolve to have the poem publiſhed as entire as you put it into my hands, I will certainly obey your commands, if I can find a proper perſon to undertake the work. I ſhall go to *London* the latter end of the next week, when I will write to you by a private hand more fully than I can venture to do by the poſt.

I was at *Twickenham* in the *Chriſtmas* week. Mr. *Pope* had juſt then received a letter from you, and had the pleaſure of hearing you were well and in good ſpirits. May thoſe good ſpirits continue with you to the laſt hour!

¹ The Verſes on the Dean's death, printed in vol. VI. p. 248. N.

Believe

Believe me to be, with the greatest truth
Sir, your most obedient and most faithful
servant,

W. K.

Pray do me the honour to present my most
humble service to Mrs. *Whiteaway*.

L E T T E R CLXXV.

DEANE SWIFT, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

S I R,

Jan 12, 1738-9.

I HAD so great an honour conferred upon
me yesterday, that I know not how to ex-
press the obligations I lie under for it; unless,
by endeavouring to make myself worthy of
your present, I can demonstrate to the world
that I daily improve in wisdom and knowledge,
by studying in those books, which since the
beginning of my life I have for ever esteemed
to be a compleat library of taste, wit, poetry,
and politicks; yes, and in spite of dullness
and prejudice, I will venture to say of religion
also. This I am sure of, that so great a pre-
sent from so great a person, and in a manner
so handsome and extraordinary, it is absolutely
impossible I should ever be honoured with
again. I always thought I added to my own
reputation whenever I pointed out some of
those excellencies which shine through every
page of them. But to be thought worthy of
receiving them from your hands, was infinitely
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beyond even what my vanity could hope for. I have flattered myself for many years, that to the best of my power I have continually fought under the banners of Liberty, and that I have been ready, at a moment's call, either to lay down my life in the defence of it, or, whenever there should appear any probability of success, to vindicate and assert that claim, which every man in every country has by nature a right to insist upon; but, whatever principles have guided my actions hitherto, I shall from this moment enlist myself under the conduct of Liberty's General; and whenever I desert her ensigns, to fight under those of Tyranny and Oppression, then, and not till then, will I part with those books which you have so highly honoured me with, and cast them into the flames, that I may never afterwards be reproached either by the sight of them, or the remembrance of the donor. I am, Sir, with the highest esteem, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

DEANE SWIFT.

LETTER CLXXVI.

DR. KING to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

London, Jan. 23, 1738-9.

I HOPE you received a letter I wrote to you from *Oxford* about the thirtieth of last month, in which I acquainted you with the publication of *Rochejoubault*; and as I interest myself

myself most heartily in every thing that concerns your character as an author, so I take great pleasure in telling you, that none of your works have been better received by the publick than this poem. I observe this with more than ordinary satisfaction, because I may urge the approbation of the publick as some kind of apology for myself, if I shall find you are dissatisfied with the form in which this poem now appears. But if that should happen, all the rest of your friends on this side of the water must share the blame with me; for I have absolutely conformed myself to their advice and opinion as to the manner of the publication. There are some lines, indeed, which I omitted with a very ill will, and for no other reason, but because I durst not insert them, I mean the story of the medals; however, that incident is pretty well known, and care has been taken that almost every reader may be able to supply the blanks. That part of the poem which mentions the death of queen *Anne*, and so well describes the designs of the ministry which succeeded upon the accession of the late king, I would likewise willingly have published, if I could have done it with safety: but I do not know whether the present worthy set of ministers would not have construed this passage into high treason, by aid of the new doctrine of innuendos: at least a lawyer, whom I consulted on this occasion, gave me some reason to imagine this might be the case. I am in truth more cautious than I used to be, well knowing that my superiors look on me

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CORRESPONDENCE. 105

at present with a very evil eye, as I am the reputed author of the *Latin* poem I have sent you by the same gentleman who does me the favour to deliver you this letter: for although that piece hath escaped the state inquisition, by being written in a language that is not at present very well understood at court, and might perhaps puzzle the attorney-general to explain; yet, the scope of the poem and principal characters being well understood, the author must hereafter expect no mercy, if he gives his enemies any grounds or colour to attack him. But, notwithstanding all my caution, if I perceive you dislike this manner and form of the poem, I will, some way or other, contrive that it may be published as you shall direct.

I send you my best wishes; and I hope you will yet live many years in a perfect state, for the sake of your friends, for the benefit of your country, and for the honour of mankind: and I beg you to believe that I am, with the greatest truth, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

W. K.

LETTER CLXXVI.

Dr. KING to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

January 30, 1738-9.

A VERY kind letter, which I have just received from you, has put me into great confusion. I beg of you to be assured, that I think myself under the highest obligations to you, and that I set a true value on the friendship

ship with which you have honoured me, and shall endeavour to preserve it as long as I live. If our correspondence has been interrupted, it hath been wholly owing to the ill treatment I received from the post-office; for some time I did not receive a letter that had not been opened, and very often my letters were delivered to me with the seals torn off. Whether those post-officers really thought me, what I never thought myself, a man of importance, or whether they imagined my letters were a cover for some greater name, I do not know; but for my part, I grew peevish, to find my friendships, and all my little chit-chat, must constantly be exposed to the view of every dirty fellow that had leisure or curiosity enough to examine my letters. However, for some little time past, I have not had the same cause of complaint. Your letter was delivered to me in good condition; I begin to think my superiors no longer suspect me of holding any unwarrantable correspondence, especially since I find I may now venture to write to the Dean even by the *Oxford* post. Notwithstanding what you say, I am in some pain about *Roche-foucault*, and doubt much whether he will be satisfied with the manner in which he finds it published; to which I consented in deference to Mr. *Pope's* judgement, and the opinion of others of the Dean's friends in this country, who, I am sure, love and honour him, and kindly concern themselves in every thing that may affect him. The town has received this piece so well, that in all parts, and in all companies,

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panies, I hear^d it extremely commended; and not only the Dean's friends, but his greatest enemies, acknowledge that he hath not lost any part of his fire, and of that inimitable turn of wit and humour so peculiar to himself. For my part, I never read any of his works, either in prose or verse, that I do not call to mind that short character which cardinal *Polignac* gave him in speaking to me, *Il a l'esprit createur*, which I mentioned to you in a former letter, if I remember rightly. It may not be amiss to tell you, that one *Gally*, or *Gallie*, since this poem was printed, offered it to sale to a bookseller at *Temple-bar*; and I am now told, that there are two or three copies more in *London*. *Gallie* pretends that he is just come from *Ireland*, and that he had directions to publish the poem here; so that perhaps the whole may at last appear, whether he will or not.

I am glad to hear that my friend Mr. *Storiff* is well. When are we to see him again in *Oxford*? Since you appeal to him for a voucher, although you need none with me, let him likewise do me the justice to tell you, that he never heard me mention your name but with the greatest esteem and respect; with which I shall ever be, Madam, your most obedient and most faithful servant,

W. K.

I sent the Dean a packet by the gentleman under whose cover I send you this.

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L E T T E R CLXXVIII.

Dr KING to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

London, March 6, 1738-9.

I DO not remember any thing published in my time, that hath been so universally well received as the Dean's last poem. Two editions have been already sold off, though two thousand were printed at first. In short, all people read it, all agree to commend it; and I have been well assured, the greatest enemies the Dean hath in this country allow it to be a just and a beautiful satire. As I am very sincerely and sensibly affected by every thing that may raise the Dean's character as a writer (if any thing can raise it higher), so you may believe I have had the greatest pleasure in observing the success and general approbation which this poem hath met with; wherefore I was not a little mortified yesterday, when the bookseller brought me the *Dublin* edition, and at the same time put into my hands a letter he had received from *Faulkner*, by which I perceive the Dean is much dissatisfied with our manner of publication, and that so many lines have been omitted, if *Faulkner* speaks truth, and knows as much of the Dean's mind as he pretends to know. *Faulkner* hath sent over several other copies to other booksellers; so that I take it for granted this poem will soon be reprinted here from the *Dublin* edition, and then

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then it may be perceived how much the Dean's friends have been mistaken in their judgement, however good their intentions have been. In the mean time I will write to you on this occasion without any reserve; for I know you love the Dean, and kindly and zealously interest yourself in every thing that concerns his character; and if you will believe the same of me, you will do me great justice.

The Doctor's friends, whom I consulted on this occasion, were of opinion, that the latter part of the poem might be thought by the publick a little vain, if so much were said by himself of himself. They were unwilling that any imputation of this kind should lie against this poem, considering there is not the least tincture of vanity appearing in any of his former writings, and that it is well known, there is no man living more free from that fault than he is.

They were of opinion that these lines,

He lash'd the vice, but spar'd the name.

No individual could resent

Where thousands equally were meant——

might be liable to some objections, and were not, strictly speaking, a just part of his character; because several persons have been lashed by name, as *Bettefworth*, and in this poem *Chartres* and *Whitsbed*; and for my part, I do not think, or ever shall think, that it is an imputation on a satirist to lash an infamous fellow by name. The lines which begin,

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Here's

*Here's Wollston's tracts, the twelfth edition,
&c.*

are plainly a mistake, and were omitted for that reason only: for *Wollston* never had a pension; on the contrary, he was prosecuted for his blasphemous writings; his book was burnt by the hands of the common hangman; he himself was imprisoned, and died in prison. *Woolaston*, the author of a book called, *The Religion of Nature delineated*, was indeed much admired at Court, his book universally read, his busto set up by the late queen in her grotto at *Richmond* with *Clarke's* and *Locke's*; but this *Woolaston* was not a clergyman.

The two last lines,

*That kingdom he hath left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better——*

I omitted, because I did not well understand them; a *better* what?—There seems to be what the grammarians call an *antecedent* wanting for that word; for neither *kingdom* or *debtor* will do, so as to make it sense, and there is no other antecedent. The Dean is, I think, without exception, the best and most correct writer of *English* that hath ever yet appeared as an author; I was therefore unwilling any thing should be caviled at as ungrammatical: he is besides the most patient of criticism of all I ever knew; which perhaps is not the least sign of a great genius—I have therefore ventured

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to make their objections to you; in which however, for the most part, I submitted my own opinion to the judgement of others. I had something to add concerning the notes, but I have not room in this paper—but I will give you the trouble of reading another letter. Believe me, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

W. K.

LETTER CLXXIX.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Mrs.
WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM, *London, June 3, 1739.*

I AM indeed much ashamed that I have so many favours from you to acknowledge at one time. You may believe me when I assure you that my silence hath not proceeded from want of respect and esteem for you. I would not put on the affectation of much business as an excuse to any body, much less to you; although the truth is, that I am hurried almost out of my life with the attendance and writing about things I have undertaken for some friends.

The Dean's recommendation and yours, without any other consideration whatever, would induce me to do my utmost to serve Mr. *M^r Aulay*, as I have told him by this post, when I thought I should not trouble you with a few lines. He will acquaint you with what I have done, by which you will see that I lost no time;

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and I have hopes to obtain the lord lieutenant's countenance for him.

I will endeavour to introduce Mr *Swift* to the acquaintance of some persons before I leave this; whose countenance and friendship will at least give a young gentleman a good air—his own merit entitles him to the esteem and regard of such as shall have the happiness to be acquainted with him: I am much obliged to you for introducing me to him. I have only time to add my most hearty thanks for the same, and to assure you that any opportunity of expressing the esteem I have for the Dean, which is the highest, and for you, will ever give me the greatest pleasure. I am, Madam, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

L E T T E R CLXXX.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR,

London, April 10, 1739.

IT is an age since I had the honour of a line from you. Your friend Mr. alderman *Barber*, whose veneration for you prompts him to do any thing he can think of that can shew his respect and affection, made a present to the university of *Oxford* of the original picture done for you by *Jervas*, to do honour to the university by your being placed in the gallery among the most renowned and distinguished

^c *William Swift*, esq. then a student at *The Middle Temple*.

perfo-

personages this island hath produced; but first had a copy taken, and then had the original set in a fine rich frame, and sent it to *Oxford*; after concerting with lord *Eolingbroke*, the vice chancellor, and Mr. *Pope*, as I remember, the inscription to be under the picture, a copy whereof is inclosed ^f. The alderman had a very handsome compliment from the vice chancellor, in the name of all the heads of houses there, and by their direction, wherein there is most honourable mention of the *Dean of St. Patrick's* on that occasion.

Seeing an article in the *London Evening-Post* upon your picture, which was drawn at the request and expence of the chapter of your cathedral, being put up in the deanry; alderman *Barber* took the hint, and caused what you see in the *London Evening-Post* of this day to be printed therein. He knows nothing of my writing to you at this time; but I thought it right that you should be acquainted how intent he is, all manner of ways, to shew the effects of the highest friendship, kindled to a flame by the warmest sense of gratitude, and the most exalted esteem and veneration.

Mrs. *Whiteway* and Mr. *M'Aulay* can inform you how absolute your commands are with me. Since you recommend him, he is sure of the utmost I can do for him.

Sir, if I have not a few words from you, I shall conclude that you think me troublesome,

^f See the inscription, and a translation of it, in vol. XIV. p. 298. N.

and are resolved to get rid of my impertinence. It will be two or three months before I can get from hence, although I am impatient to be at home: but wherever I am, or however engaged, I am always, dear Sir, your most obliged and most truly faithful servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

My best respects wait upon Mrs. *Whiteway*.

L E T T E R CCLXXXI.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, Esq; to Dr.
SWIFT.

DEAR SIR, *London, April 17, 1739.*

I WROTE this morning to Mrs. *Whiteway* a few lines in much hurry; and I write this to you in *Guildhall*, by alderman *Barber's* direction. Beside a letter from you to the Society, whose address is in Mrs. *Whiteway's* letter, he thinks a memorial or petition from Mr. *Dunkin* to the Society will be of use; and if you write to Mr. *Pope*, the alderman thinks he will get one vote, which he can fix no way of obtaining but through *Pope*. I am ever, dear Sir, your most obliged and most affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

I should think it would be right in Mr. *Dunkin* to come over the moment he hears of

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of *Squires's* death. I wrote by this post, to a nephew, to let you know the moment he dies, if the life should be in him when my letter goes to him.

LETTER CLXXXII.

Dr. DUNKIN to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

April 25, 1739.

AS it was through your countenance I had the honour of being first introduced to the most worthy Dean of *St. Patrick*, I must have thought myself under the highest obligation to you; but the continuance of your friendship, through so many repeated acts of generosity, and the course of his gracious endeavours to raise my reputation and fortune, are such things as I must ever remember and express with a very deep sense of gratitude.

The fatigue of writing so many letters lately in my favour was indeed what I could not in reason expect even from his humanity, were I worthy of them; and I can only say, the Dean of *St. Patrick* is unwearied in doing good; and that He who could rise to preserve a nation, will descend to relieve an individual.

The sense of my own demerit, and the just awe in which I stand before so great and good a man, will not allow me either that freedom of speech or writing, which is requisite to let him understand with what love, veneration,

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and

and respect of his person, I reflect upon the many instances of his tender concern and uncommon zeal for my welfare. This is a duty I most earnestly wish, but am altogether unable to perform, and such as I entreat you, dear Madam, to undertake for me; your compliance in which will be yet another, among the many and weighty obligations laid upon your most dutiful, obedient, devoted servant,

WILLIAM DUNKIN.

L E T T E R CLXXXIII.

Mr. Secretary LYTTLETON to Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

London, May 16, 1739.

I CANNOT let Mr. *Swijt* return to *Ireland* without my acknowledgements to you for the favour you have done Mr. *Lamb*. I know that I ought to ascribe it wholly to Mr. *Pope's* recommendation, as I have not the happiness to be known to you myself; but give me leave to take this occasion of assuring you how much I wish to be in the number of your friends. I think I can be so even at this distance, and though we should never come to a nearer acquaintance; for the reputation of some men is amiable, and one can love their characters without knowing their persons.

If it could ever be in my power to do you any service in this country, the employing me in it would be a new favour to, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

G. L.
LET.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

Dr. SCOTT to Dr. SWIFT.

REV. SIR,

London, Sept. 7, 1739.

ALTHOUGH I do not imagine that you have any remembrance of a person so little known to you as I am, yet I have taken the liberty to draw a kind of bill of friendship upon you, which I am inclined to believe you will answer, because it is in favour of that kingdom to which you have always stood a sincere and firm friend. We have had here, for some years past, a number of anatomical figures, prepared in wax, which perfectly exhibit all the parts of an human body. They are the work of a *French* surgeon, who spent above forty years in preparing them, and who, to bring them to perfection, was at the trouble and expence of dissecting some hundreds of bodies. The present proprietor of them is my friend, and it was by my persuasion that he was prevailed on to send them into *Ireland* for the instruction of the curious. I presume you have seen them in *London*; and therefore I am inclined to think you will be of opinion, that a person may gain more perfect knowledge in anatomy, by viewing these preparations only a few times, than he would by attending many dissections. Your encouraging such of your acquaintance as are curious to see these figures, would greatly excite the curiosity of

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others.

others. This is the favour I have taken the liberty to desire of you, and which I believe you will be the more readily inclined to grant, when I have assured you, that the person who has the care of the figures has it in his instructions to return the money, that may be got by exposing them to view, in *Irish* linen; so that the kingdom will be no way impoverished by the small expence which gentlemen may be at in procuring useful instruction, or gratifying their curiosity. If the request I have made be such as you cannot favour, my next is, that you will grant me your pardon for having made it.

I intend, God willing, to go into *Ireland* next spring, after the publication of a work which I have been engaged in for some years past, for the silencing of all infidels, hereticks, schismatics of all kinds, and enthusiasts. I thought it necessary, because in the way that the controversy has been hitherto managed against such people, the truth has been rather puzzled and perplexed than cleared, Christianity has been betrayed, and all true religion lost in the world. I have advanced no one new opinion of my own; what I have set forth is what was clearly set forth in the scriptures from the beginning, I mean in the original scriptures of the Old Testament, so interpreted as to make them every where consistent with themselves; and to shew that the interpretations I have given are not only the true interpretations, but that the scriptures so interpreted are the revealed word of God. I have

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have demonstrated the truth of them by natural evidence, or by the works of God, and that the works bear evidence to nothing but the truth; that these revealed truths so demonstrated are unquestionable and undeniable; and that they are the only powerful motives by which men are not only moved, but enlightened and enabled to mortify all their lusts, which blind and deceive them here, and will be their everlasting tormentors hereafter, but to work the works of charity, and of that perfect righteousness which is of faith: so that the whole of all true religion, which has been one and the same in all ages, will appear to consist in the mortifications of our bodily and spiritual lusts, which withhold men from the works of righteousness; and in the belief of those demonstrative truths, by which alone we are enlightened, enabled, and moved to subdue them; and in observing those natural memorials, which God hath set before us, and in partaking of those reverential ordinances which he hath instituted to put us in mind of what we ought to do, in order to eternal life and the motives for so doing. I ask pardon for this digression; and if you have any commands that I am capable of executing here, if you will let me have the honour of receiving them, I shall take great pleasure in obeying you; for I am, with the greatest respect and truth, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

LET-

L E T T E R CLXXXV.

Dr. SWIFT to Mr. FAULKNER.

SIR,

December 4, 1739.

I CANNOT find a manuscript I wrote, called, *Directions for Servants*, which I thought was very useful, as well as humorous. I believe you have both seen and read it. I wish you could give me some intelligence of it, because my memory is quite gone; therefore let me know all you can conjecture about it. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R CLXXXVI.

Reverend Mr. THROP to Dr. SWIFT.

REV. SIR,

Dec. 10, 1739.

THE many professions of kindness you have made, and friendship you have shewn, to my mother and her family, particularly in declaring your abhorrence and detestation of the cruel and inhuman behaviour

§ This short epistle affords a melancholy proof of the Dean's sense of those infirmities, which were then making so rapid a progress on his intellects. N.

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of that monster — to my unfortunate and innocent brother, induced my mother to trouble you with a few of the narratives of that case, to disperse among such members of the house of commons as were of your acquaintance. The reason of our troubling you to do this, is because we intend presenting a petition to the members of the house of commons this session, to oblige — to waive his privilege, every other attempt we have tried since my brother's death proving fruitless.

Your appearing, Sir, in this affair, will not only make — the more ready to do justice, but prevent others from supporting him in his villainies, which will be of infinite service to my mother and her family.

The bearer carries you a dozen of cases; and if you should have occasion for any more, they shall be sent to you by, Reverend Sir, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT THROP.

I have written the names of the several persons mentioned in the narrative at length upon the back of the title-page.

LET-

L E T T E R CLXXXVII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

Dec. 31, 1739.

IT is impossible to have health in such desperate weather; but you are worse used than others. Every creature of either sex is uneasy; for our kingdom is turned to be a *Muscovy*, or worse. Even I cannot do any good by walking: is not warmth good against rheumatic pains? I hope *Deane Swift*^b will be able to assist you both. I wish for a happy turn in the weather. I am doubly desolate, and wish I could sleep until the sun would comfort us. Would neither your son or daughter save you the pains of writing on your back? You are much more friendly to me than a thousand of them. Adieu, I am ever yours.

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R CLXXXVIII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM,

I AM truly and heartily glad that you are a little mended, and can lie on your belly, or side, not altogether on your back. You

^b Then married to Mrs. *Harris*.

are

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are much in the right not to stir, and so was *Crooker* not to suffer you. I am not yet worse for the cold weather, but am angry at it. I am heartily sorry for yourself and daughter; but Mr. *Swift* dares not be sick, for his chief business is to look after you and your daughter. I walk only in my bed-chamber and closet, which hath also a fire. I am ever yours.

J. SWIFT.

New-year's day, 1739-40.

I wish you may have many, and all healthy ones.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM, *Jan.* 18, 1739-40

I HAVE been many days heartily concerned for your ill health; it is now twenty-five days since we have found nothing but frost and misery, and they may continue for as many more. This day is yet the coldest of them all. Dr. *Wilcox* and I are both very uneasy to find no better message from you. I received, as I was going to dinner, the inclosed letter from your beloved of ———, which I shall make you happy with. It will shew you the goodness, the wisdom, the gratitude, the truth, the civility, of that excellent divine, adorned with an orthography (spelling) fit for himself. Pray read it a hundred times, but return it after you have read it an hundred times.

times. My love and service to your son and daughter; let them both read the inclosed.

I would not lose your lover's letter for a hundred pounds. It must be sent back by the bearer. Let me know the exact number of lyes that are in it; but I fear that will take up your time too much. I am ever yours,

J. SWIFT.

L E T T E R CXC.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

Feb. 3, 1739-40.

THE bad account I had of your health for many days, or rather weeks, hath made me continually uneasy to the last degree; and Mr. *Swift*, who was with me so long yesterday, could not in conscience give me any comfort: but your kind letter hath raised my spirits in some measure. I hope we have almost done with this cursed weather, yet still my garden is all in white. I read your letter to Dr. *Wilson*, who is somewhat better; and he resolves to apply your medicine, I mean your improvements of what you prescribe to add to his surgeon's method. I am ever, dear Madam, entirely yours,

J. SWIFT.

L E T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

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LETTER CXCI.

R—T N—T, Esq; ⁱ to MRS. WHITEWAY.

MADAM,

Bath, April 2, 1740.

I HAD not until very lately an opportunity of letting Mr. *Pope* know his obligations to you; of which he is very sensible, and has desired me to beg that you will remit to me, by a safe hand, whatever letters of his are now in your possession. I shall be in town next week; so that you may be pleased to direct to me, by the first convenient opportunity, at my house in *Dover-street, London*. I am, Madam, with great esteem, your most humble and obedient servant,

R. N.

My compliments to Mr. and Mrs. *Swift*.

I shall say nothing of the picture^k, because I am sure you remember it. I must beg that you will let Mr. *Bindon*^l know
I would

ⁱ Now lord C—; author of the patriotic Verses to the Queen, with a New-Year's Gift of *Irish Manufacture*, printed for *Doddsley*, 1775; and of many other celebrated productions. N.

^k Of Dr. *Swift*.

^l The greatest painter of his time in these kingdoms. On account of his age, and some little failure in his sight, he threw aside his pencil about sixteen or eighteen years ago; and afterwards lived to a good old age, greatly beloved and respected by
all

I would have the picture no more than a head upon a three-quarter cloth, to match one which I now have of Mr. *Pope*.

L E T T E R CXCII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM,

April 29, 1740.

I FIND that you and I are fellow-sufferers almost equally in our healths, although I am more than twenty years older. But I am and have been these two days in so miserable a way, and so cruelly tortured, that can hardly be conceived. The whole last night I was equally struck as if I had been in *Phalaris's* brazen bull, and roared as loud for eight or nine hours. I am at this instant unable to move without excessive pain, although not the thousandth part of what I suffered all last night and this morning. This you will now style the gout. I continue still very deaf. Doctor *Wilson's* left eye is still disordered, and very uneasy. You have now your family at home: I desire to present them with my kind and hearty service.

I am ever entirely yours, &c.

J. SWIFT.

all who had the happiness either of his friendship or acquaintance. He died within these three years. [The above was written in 1767.]

L E T -

LETTER CXIII.

Mrs. WHITEWAY TO ALEXANDER POPE,
Esq;

SIR,

May 16, 1740.

SHOULD I make an apology for writing to you, I might be asked why I did so. If I have erred, my design at least is good, both to you and the Dean of *St. Patrick*; for I write in relation to my friend, and I write to his friend, which I hope will plead my excuse. As I saw a letter of yours to him, wherein I had the honour to be named, I take the liberty to tell you (with grief of heart) his memory is so much impaired, that in a few hours he forgot it; nor is his judgement sound enough, had he many tracts by him, to finish or correct them, as you have desired. His health is as good as can be expected, free from all the tortures of old age; and his deafness, lately returned, is all the bodily un-easiness he hath to complain of. A few years ago he burnt most of his writings unprinted, except a few loose papers, which are in my possession, and which I promise you (if I out-live him) shall never be made public without your approbation. There is one treatise in his own keeping, called *Advice to Servants*, very unfinished and incorrect; yet what is done of it, hath so much humour, that it may appear as a posthumous work.

Tha

The History of the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign I suppose you have seen with *Dr. King*, to whom he sent it some time ago, and if I am rightly informed, is the only piece of his (except *Gulliver*) which he ever proposed making money by, and was given to *Dr. King* with that design, if it might be printed: I mention this to you, lest the Doctor should die, and his heirs imagine they have a right to dispose of it. I entreat, Sir, you will not take notice to any person of the hints I have given you in this letter; they are only designed for yourself: to the Dean's friends in *England* they can only give trouble, and to his enemies and starveling wits cause of triumph. I inclose this to alderman *Barber*, who I am sure will deliver it safe, yet knows nothing more than its being a paper that belongs to you.

The ceremony of answering womens letters may perhaps make you think it necessary to answer mine; but I do not expect it, because your time either is or ought to be better employed, unless it be in my power to serve you in buying *Irish* linen, or any other command you are pleased to lay on me, which I shall execute, to the best of my capacity, with the greatest readiness, integrity, and secrecy; for whether it be my years, or a less degree of vanity in my composition than in some of my sex, I can receive such an honour from you without mentioning it. I should, some time past, have writ to you on this subject, had I not fancied that it glanced at the am-

bition.

bition of being thought a person of consequence, by interfering between you and the Dean; a character of all others which I dislike.

I have several of your letters to the Dean, which I will send by the first safe hand that I can get to deliver them to yourself^m; I believe it may be Mr. *Mauley*, the gentleman the Dean recommended through your friendship to the prince of *Wales*ⁿ.

I believe this may be the only letter which you ever received without asking a favour, a compliment, extolling your genius, running in raptures on your poetry, or admiring your distinguishable virtue. I am, Sir, with very high respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

MARTHA WHITEWAY.

Mr. *Swift*, who waited on you last *Summer*, is since that married to my daughter: he desires me to present you his most obedient respects and humble thanks for the particular honour conferred upon him in permitting him to spend a day with you at *Twickenham*; a favour he will always remember with gratitude.

^m See, in Mr. *Pope's* Works, Letters to and from Dr. *Swift*, Letter LXVIII; Letters to Mr. *Warburton*, Letters VIII, IX. and *Ruffean's* Life of *Pope*, p. 467. N.

ⁿ See vol. XVI. p. 311. N.

L E T T E R CXCIV.

Mr. POPE to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

MADAM, *Twickenham, June 18, 1740.*

I AM extremely sensible of the favour of your letter, and very well see the kindness as well as honour which moved you to it. I have no merit for the one, but being (like yourself) a sincere friend to the Dean, though much a less useful one; for all my friendship can only operate in wishes, yours in good works. He has had the happiness to meet with such in all the stages of his life; and I hope in God and in you, that he will not want one in the last. Never imagine, Madam, that I can do otherwise than esteem that sex, which has furnished him with the best friends.

The favour you offer me, I accept with the utmost thankfulness; and I think no person more fit to convey it to my hands than Mr. *M'Aulay*, of whom I know you have so good an opinion. Indeed any one whom you think worthy your trust, I shall think deserves mine, in a point I am ever so tender of.

I wish the very small opportunity I had of shewing Mr. *Swift*, your son, my regards for him, had been greater; and I wish it now more, since he is become so near to you, for whom my respect runs hand in hand with my affection for the Dean; and I cannot wish
well

CORRESPONDENCE. 131

well for the one, without doing so for the other.

I turn my mind all I can from the melancholy subject of your letter. May God Almighty alleviate your concern, and his complaints, as much as possible in this state of infirmities, while he lives: and may your tenderness, Madam, prevent any thing after his death which may any way depreciate his memory! I dare say, nothing of ill consequence can happen from the commission given Dr. King.

You see, Madam, I write to you with absolute freedom, as becomes me to the friend of my friend, and to a woman of sense and spirit. I will say no more, that you may find I treat you with the same delicacy that you do me (and for which I thank you) without the least compliment: and it is none when I add, that I am, with esteem, Madam, your most obliged and most obedient servant,

A. POPE.

LETTER CXCV.

DR. SWIFT TO MRS. WHITEWAY.

I HAVE been very miserable all night, and to-day extremely deaf and full of pain. I am so stupid and confounded, that I cannot express the mortification I am under both in body and mind. All I can say is, That I am not in torture; but I daily and hourly expect

it. Pray let me know how *your* health is, and your family. I hardly understand one word I write. I am sure my days will be very few; few and miserable they must be.

I am, for those few days, yours entirely,
J. SWIFT.

If I do not blunder, it is *Saturday*,
July 26, 1740.

If I live till *Monday*, I shall hope to let you, perhaps for the last time.

L E T T E R C X C V I.

Dr. SWIFT to Mrs. WHITEWAY.

DEAR MADAM,

Jan. 13, 1740-41.

YOUR son^o, who was with me yesterday, and staid the whole afternoon till near ten o'clock, gave me a very melancholy account of your ill health, extremely to my grief. I send a servant with this letter: and you will please to employ Mr. *Swift* to answer it, because I am in very great pain about you; for the weather is so extremely sharp, that it must needs add to your disorders. Pray let your son or daughter write a few lines, to give me some sort of comfort. My cold is now attended with a cough this bitter cold weather; but I am impatient until your son

o Mr. *Swift*.

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er daughter gives me some hopes. I am ever
your assured friend, and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

LETTER CXCVII.

Earl of ORRERY to Dr. SWIFT.

Duke-street, Westminster, July 7, 1741.

THANKS to you, dear Sir, for your frequent remembrance of me by my great friend and patron Master *George Faulkner*: thanks to you for the honours you have shewed my wife: but, above all, thanks to you for using exercise, and taking care of your health. It is the strongest instance of affection your friends either desire or deserve. In mentioning your friends, I must particularize Mr. *Pope*: he obeys your commands, and flings away much time upon me: *Nec deficit alter aureus*; Doctor *King* does the same. Thus deities condescend to visit and converse with mortals.

Poor lord *Oxford* is gone to those regions from whence travelers never return, unless in airy visit to faithless lovers, as *Margaret* to *William*; or to cities devoted to destruction, as *Hector* amidst the flames to *Troy*. The deceased earl has left behind him many books, many manuscripts, and no money: his lady brought him five hundred thousand pounds, four of which have been sacrificed to indolence, good-nature, and want of worldly wisdom:

dom: and there will still remain, after proper sales and right management, five thousand pounds a year for his widow.

Mr. *Cæsar* died about two months ago. Mrs. *Cæsar* is still all tears and lamentations, although she certainly may be numbered *inter felices, sua si bona norint*.

Lord *Bathurst* is at *Cirencester*, erecting pillars and statues to queen *Anne*. Lord *Darlington* lives in *France*: posterity, it is to be hoped, may be the better for his retirement. The duke of *Argyle* reigns, or ought to reign, in *Scotland*.—Such is the state of *Europe*; but our disappointment in *America* has cast a gloomy face over *London* and *W Westminster*. The citizens have recourse to mum and tobacco, by which means they puff away care, and keep disinav at a proper distance; in the mean time, my friends the ducks and geese in the *Park* cackle on, and join in chorus to the sounds of victory that are daily drummed forth on the parade, but reach no farther than the atmosphere of *Whitehall*.—What news next? The weather—but you certainly know it is hot; for in truth, notwithstanding this letter comes from my heart, and is written in the pleasure of thinking of you, yet I sweat to assure you how much I am, dear Sir, your ever obliged and obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

L E T-

L E T T E R CXCVIII.

Earl of ORRERY TO DEANE SWIFT, Esq;

SIR,

Marston, Dec. 4. 1742.

I AM much obliged to you for the full, though melancholy, account you have sent me of my ever-honoured friend. It is the more melancholy to me, as I have heard him often lament the particular misfortune incident to human nature, of an utter deprivation of senses many years before a deprivation of life. I have heard him describe persons in that condition, with a liveliness and a horror, that on this late occasion have recalled to me his very words. Our litany, methinks, should have an addition of a particular prayer against this most dreadful misfortune: I am sure mine shall. The bite of a mad dog (a most tremendous evil) ends soon in death; but the effects of his loss of memory may last even to the longest age of man; therefore I own my friendship for him has now changed my thoughts and wishes into the very reverse of what they were. I rejoice to hear he grows lean. I am sorry to hear his appetite is good. I was glad when there seemed an approaching mortification in his eye-lid. In one word, the man I wished to live the longest, I wish the soonest dead. It is the only blessing that can now befall him. His reason will never return; or if it should, it will only be to shew him the misery of having lost it. I am impatient for his going where imperfection ceases, and where perfection begins: where

Wilson cannot break in and steal, and where envy, hatred, and malice, have no influence or power. Whilst he continues to breathe, he is an example, stronger and more piercing than he or any other divine could preach, against pride, conceit, and vain-glory. Good God! Doctor *Szeist* beaten and marked with stripes by a beast in human shape, one *Wilson*! But he is not only an example against presumption and haughtiness, but in reality an incitement to marriage. Men in years ought always to secure a friend to take care of declining life, and watch narrowly as they fall the last minute particles of the hour-glass. A bachelor will seldom find, among all his kindred, so true a nurse, so faithful a friend, so disinterested a companion, as one tied to him by the double chain of duty and affection. A wife could not be banished from his chamber, or his unhappy hours of retirement: nor had the Dean felt a blow, or wanted a companion, had he been married, or, in other words, had *Stella* lived. All that a friend could do, has been done by Mrs. *Whiteway*; all that a companion could persuade, has been attempted by Mrs. *Ridgeway*: the rest — but I shall run on for ever; and I set out at first only with an intention of thanking you for your letter, and assuring you that I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ORRERY.

P. S. I beg to hear from you from time to time, if any new occurrence happens in the Dean's unhappy state.

T H E

T H E
A N S W E R
O F T H E
Right Honourable W—M P—Y, Esq;
T O T H E

Right Honourable Sir R—-T W—-E.

SIR,

October 15, 1730.

A PAMPHLET was lately sent me, entitled, *A Letter from the Right Honourable Sir R. W. to the Right Honourable W. P. Esq; occasioned by the late Investitures on the King, her Majesty, and all the Royal Family*. By these initial letters of our names, the world is to understand that you and I must be meant. Although the letter seems to require an answer, yet because it appears to be written rather in the style and manner used by some of your pensioners, than your own, I shall allow you the liberty to think the same of this answer, and leave the publick to determine which of the two actors can better personate their principals. That frigid and fustian way of

P Written by Dr. Swift.

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haranguing, wherewith your representer begins, continues, and ends his declamation, I shall leave to the criticks in eloquence and propriety to descant on; because it adds nothing to the weight of your accusations, nor will my defence be one grain the better by exposing its puerilities.

I shall therefore only remark upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in most other arts and sciences, as law, physick, (I shall proceed no further) are usually much more plausibly defended than in that of politics; whether it be, that, by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt minister is always left to the management of the meanest and most prostitute writers; or whether it be, that the effects of a wicked or unskilful administration are more public, visible, pernicious, and universal: whereas the mistakes in other sciences are often matters that affect only speculation; or at worst, the bad consequences fall upon few and private persons. A nation is quickly sensible of the miseries it feels; and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours, conferred on those who sit at the helm, or the salaries paid to their pen-men; while the body of the people is sunk into poverty and despair. A *Frenchman* in his wooden shoes may, from the vanity of his nation, and the constitution of that government, conceive some imaginary pleasure in boasting the grandeur of his monarch, in the midst of his own slavery: but a freeborn *Englishman*, with all his loyalty, can

find little satisfaction at a minister overgrown in wealth and power from the lowest degree of want and contempt; when that power or wealth are drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow-subject is a sufferer, except the great man himself, his family, and his pensioners. I mean such a minister (if there hath ever been such a one) whose whole management hath been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and mistakes, in every article besides that of enriching and aggrandizing himself.

For these reasons, the faults of men who are most trusted in public business are, of all others, the most difficult to be defended. A man may be persuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he hath small concern; but no oratory can have the power over a sober man against the conviction of his own senses: and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on such advocates might be more prudently spared, and kept in such a minister's own pocket, than lavished in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flourishing in trade and wealth, which every particular subject (except those few already excepted) can lawfully swear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falsehood.

Give me leave, noble Sir, in the way of argument, to suppose this to be your case. Could you in good conscience, or moral justice, chide your paper advocates for their ill success in persuading the world against manifest demonstration? Their miscarriage is owing, alas! to
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want of matter. Should we allow them to be matters of wit, raillery, or learning, yet the subject would not admit them to exercise their talents; and, consequently, they can have no recourse but to impudence, lying, and scurrility.

I must confess, that the author of your letter to me hath carried this last qualification to a greater height than any of his fellows: but he hath, in my opinion, failed a little in point of politeness from the original which he affects to imitate. If I should say to a prime minister, “Sir, you have sufficiently provided that *Dunkirk* should be absolutely demolished and never repaired; you took the best advantage of a long and general peace, to discharge the immense debts of the nation; you did wonders with the fleet; you made the *Spaniards* submit to our quiet possession of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*; you never enriched yourself and family at the expence of the publick—” Such is the style of your supposed letter; which, however, if I am well informed, by no means comes up to the refinements of a fishwife in *Billingsgate*: *You never had a bastard by Tom the waterman; you never stole a silver tankard; you were never whipped at the cart’s tail!*

In the title of your letter, it is said to be *occasioned by the late invectives on the King, her Majesty, and all the Royal Family*: and the whole contents of the paper (stripped from your eloquence) goes on upon a supposition affectedly serious, that their majesties and the whole

whole royal family have been lately bitterly and publicly inveighed against in the most enormous and treasonable manner. Now, being a man, *as you well know*, altogether out of business, I do sometimes lose an hour in reading a few of those controversial papers upon politicks, which have succeeded for some years past to the polemical tracts between Whig and Tory: and in this kind of reading (if it may deserve so to be called) although I have been often but little edified or entertained, yet hath it given me occasion to make some observations. First, I have observed, that, however men may sincerely agree in all the branches of the Low-church principle, in a tenderness for Dissenters of every kind, in a perfect abhorrence of Popery and the Pretender, and in the most firm adherence to the Protestant succession in the royal house of *Hanover*; yet plenty of matter may arise, to kindle their animosities against each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices, inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I observed, that although the vulgar reproach, which charges the quarrels between ministers and their opposers to be only a contention for power between those who are in, and those who would be in if they could; yet, as long as this proceeds no further than a scuffle of ambition among a few persons, it is only a matter of course, whereby the publick is little affected. But, when corruptions are plain, open, and undisguised, both in their causes and effects, to the hazard of a nation's ruin.

ruin, and so declared by all the principal persons and the bulk of the people, those only excepted who are gainers by those corruptions; and when such ministers are forced to fly for shelter to the throne, with a complaint of disaffection to majesty against all who durst dislike their administration: such a general disposition in the minds of men cannot I think, by any rules of reason, be called *the clamour of a few disaffected incendiaries*, gasping after power. It is the true voice of the people; which must and will at last be heard, or produce consequences that I dare not mention.

I have observed, thirdly, that among all the offensive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where these were, strictly speaking, no part of the subject: nor can it be properly objected, that such a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice towards you and your assistants; because to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly opposite to the principles that those kind of writers have always professed, so it would destroy the very end they have in pursuit. And it is somewhat remarkable, that those very writers against you and the regiment you command are such as most distinguish themselves, upon all or upon no occasions, by their panegyrics on their prince; and, as all of them do this without favour or hire, so some of them continue the same practice under the severest prosecution by you and your janineries.

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You seem to know, or at least very strongly to conjecture, who those persons are that give you so much weekly disquiet. Will you dare to assert that any of these are *Jacobites*, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him (for these are your expressions); and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? can you think I will descend to vindicate myself against an aspersion so absurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of ministry, without changing our prince: for, if it had been otherwise, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, should be trusted with the thread of a single subject's life! for I suppose it is not yet in your view to entail the ministryship in your family. Thus I hope we may live to see different ministers and different measures, without any danger to the succession in the royal Protestant line of *Hanover*.

You are pleased to advance a topick, which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it while they had the superiority. You tell us, "It is hard, that, while every private man shall have the liberty to chuse what servants he pleaseth, the same privilege should be refused to a king." This assertion, crudely understood, can hardly be supported. If by servants be only meant those who are purely menial, who provide for their master's food and cloathing, or for the convenience and

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splendour of his family, the point is not worth debating. But the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a secretary, an ambassador, a treasurer, and many other officers, is of very high consequence to the whole kingdom: so is likewise that amphibious race of courtiers between servants and ministers; such as the steward, chamberlain, treasurer of the household, and the like, being all of the privy council, and some of the cabinet, who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great instruments of good or evil, both to the subject and the prince: so that the parallel is by no means adequate between a prince's court and a private family. And yet, if an insolent footman be troublesome in the neighbourhood: if he breaks the people's window, insults their servants, beats into other folks' houses to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favorite in his station, yet those who are injured may, without just offence, complain to his lord, and for want of redress get a warrant, to send him to the stocks, to *Bridewell*, or to *Newgate*, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the servants of the prince, whether menial or otherwise, if they be of his council, are subject to the inquiries and prosecutions of the great council of the nation, even as far as to capital punishment; and so must ever be in our constitution, till a minister can procure a majority even of that council to shelter him; which, I am sure, you will allow to be a desperate crisis under any party of the most plausible denomination.

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The only instance you produce, or rather insinuate, to prove the late invectives against the king, queen, and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the *English* history, published in several papers by the *Craftsman*; wherein are shewn the bad consequences to the publick, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil ministers, in most reigns, and at several periods, when the throne was filled by wise monarchs as well as weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reasonably give the least offence to a *British* king, when he shall observe that the greatest and ablest of his predecessors, by their own candour, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have sometimes put too much trust in confident, insinuating, and avaricious ministers.

Wisdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be imposed on. Thus *Milton* describes *Uriel, the sharpest sighted spirit in heaven, and regent of the sun*, deceived by the dissimulation and flattery of the devil; for which the poet gives a philosophical reason, but needless here to quote. Is any thing more common, or more useful, than to caution wise men in high stations against putting too much trust in undertaking servants, cringing flatterers, or designing friends? Since the *Asiatic* custom of governing by prime ministers hath prevailed in so many courts of *Europe*, how careful should every prince be in the choice of the person on whom so great a trust is devolved, whereon depend the safety

and welfare of himself and all his subjects? Queen *Elizabeth*, whose administration is frequently quoted as the best pattern for *English* princes to follow, could not resist the artifices of the earl of *Leicester*, who, although universally allowed to be the most ambitious, insolent, and corrupt person of his age, was yet her greatest, and almost her only favourite (his religion indeed, being partly Puritan and partly Infidel, might have better tallied with present times); yet this wise queen would never suffer the openest enemies of that overgrown lord to be sacrificed to his vengeance; nor durst he charge them with a design of introducing Popery or the *Spanish* pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whose matters have passed for persons of good abilities, during the whole course of their lives, and yet the greatest part of whose estates have sunk in the hands of their stewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in scanty portions, at large discount, and treble interest, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the same time accused to their landlords of insolvency. Of this species are such managers, who, like honest *Peter Waters*, pretend to clear an estate, keep the owner penniless, and, after seven years, leave him five times more in debt, while they sink half a plum into their own pockets.

Those who think themselves concerned may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleased to allow them, of *taking vengeance*

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on the ministers, and there shooting their envenomed arrows. As to myself; I neither owe you vengeance, nor make use of such weapons: but it is your weakness, or ill fortune, or perhaps the fault of your constitution, to convert wholesome remedies into poison; for you have received better and more frequent instructions than any minister of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promise you the thanks of half the kingdom, if you will please to perform the promise you have made of suffering the *Craftsman* and company, or whatever other *infamous wretches and execrable villains* you mean, to take their vengeance only on your own sacred ministerial person, without bringing any of your brethren, much less the most remote branch of the royal family, into the debate. This generous offer I suspected from the first; because there were never heard of so many, so unnecessary, and so severe prosecutions as you have promoted during your ministry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the press is so much pretended to be allowed. But, in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that *these miscreants* (meaning the writers against you) *are to remember that the laws have* ABUNDANTLY LESS *generous, less mild and merciful sentiments* than yourself; and into their secular hands the poor authors must be delivered, to fines, prisons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promise

of impunity, which began somewhat jesuitically, concludes with the mercy of a *Spanish* inquisitor.

If it should so happen that I am neither *abettor, patron, protector*, nor *supporter*, of these imaginary invectives *against the king, her majesty, or any of the royal family*, I desire to know what satisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now answering? It will be no excuse to say, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reason and practice; because that will be to load the best, the soundest, and most numerous part of the kingdom with the denominations you are pleased to bestow upon me, that they are *Jacobites, wicked miscreants, infamous wretches, execrable villains, and defamers of the king, queen, and all the royal family, and guilty of high treason*. You cannot know my syle; but I can easily know your works, which are performed in the sight of the sun. Your good inclinations are visible; but I begin to doubt the strength of your credit, even at court, that you have not power to make his majesty believe me the person which you represent in your libel: as most infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, because I must otherwise have found it by the marks of his royal displeasure. However, to be angry with you, to whom I am indebted for the greatest obligation I could possibly receive, would be the highest ingratitude. It is to You I owe that reputation I have acquired for some years past,

of

of being a lover of my country and its constitution: to **YOU** I owe the libels and scurrilities conferred upon me by the worst of men, and consequently some degree of esteem and friendship from the best. From **YOU** I learned the skill of distinguishing between a *patriot* and a *plunderer* of his country: and from **YOU** I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and useful servant to the best of princes, king *George* the second; and therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble submission and respect, but with infinite gratitude, Sir, your most obedient and most obliged servant,

W. P.

T O T H E
C O U N T D E G Y L L E N B O R G.

SIR, *Dublin in Ireland, Nov. 2, 1719.*

IT is now about sixteen years since I first entertained the design of writing a history of *England*^a, from the beginning of *William Rufus* to the end of queen *Elizabeth*; such a history, I mean, as appears to be most wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgement, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events, without any regard to the rest. My intention was, to inscribe it to the king^b your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration, as I shall continue to bear to his memory. I confess it is with some disdain that I observe great authors descending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of *Europe*, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me, besides the king your master (for I say nothing of his present *Bri-*

^a See the note in p. 155. N.

^b *Charles XII*, king of *Sweden*, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of *Fredriksholm*, in the year 1718.

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tanick majesty^c, to whose person and character I am an utter stranger, and like to continue so); neither can I be suspected of flattery on this point, since it was some years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his minister in *England*, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witness, I might have avoided some years uneasiness and vexation, during the last four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy prospect since, in a most obscure disagreeable country, and among a most profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from pursuing this history partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction, which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you saw me in *England*; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and business of another kind. Upon her majesty's lamented death, I returned to my station in this kingdom; since which time, there is not a Northern curate among you who hath lived more obscure than myself, or a greater stranger to the commonest transactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following pa-

^c George I, when he ascended the throne, was fifty-five years of age, a prince of an extensive capacity, and established reputation; joining military merit to political abilities; and having for his maxim, "Never to abandon his friends, to render justice to all the world, and to fear no one." See *Mist*, vol. iv. p 322. N.

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bers, which I had almost forgotten. I publish them now, for two reasons; first, for an encouragement to those who have more youth^d, and leisure, and good temper than I, towards pursuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they please; the second reason is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound respect I have for the memory of your royal master, and the sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself^e; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you shewed, not only for the honour and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the Protestant religion in *Germany*, and how knowingly and feelingly you often spoke to me upon that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an *English* gentleman; and esteemed you as a faithful subject to your prince, and an able negociator; neither shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem: and I must take leave to assure you further, that my affection towards persons hath not been at all diminished by the frown of Power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue still so in my eyes and my heart; only with

a * * * * *

Cætera desiderantur.

^d The author was then in his fifty-second year.

^e See vol. XIX. p. 256. N.

The REIGN of
WILLIAM the SECOND,
SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son *Robert*, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in *France*^f, *William*, the second son, made use of this juncture, and, without attending his father's funeral, hastened to *England*, where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince^g, the nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*, were prevailed with to admit him king, partly by his promises to abate the rigour of the late

^f He was then at *Abbeville* in *Picardy*.

^g *William the Conqueror* on his death-bed left *Normandy* and *Le Maine* to his son *Robert*, as being his right of inheritance; not without adding, as some historians relate, that any people whom *Robert* was to govern, would be miserable. *England*, he said, was not his property by inheritance; he would not presume to bequeath to any one that kingdom, but left it to the disposal of Heaven: however, so it pleased God, he should be glad that *William*, his obedient and best beloved son, should enjoy it after his death; and accordingly ordered letters to be expedited to archbishop *Lanfranc*, for facilitating *William's* accession and establishment there.

reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of *Lanfranc*; for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection for his person. At *Winchester* he took possession of his father's treasure^b, in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time *Robert* returned to *Normandy*, took possession of that duchy, with great applause and content of his people, and, spighted at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade *England*; nor did there want an occasion to promote his interest, if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo bishop of *Baieux*ⁱ, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign^k, a prelate

^b Which was sixty thousand pounds in silver, besides gold, jewels, and plate. *Brompton*.

ⁱ *Odo* was half brother to *William the Conqueror*, and the first earl of *Kent* of *Norman* blood. He was released from his confinement by order of the late king, at the solicitation of *Robert* earl of *Mortain*, *Odo's* brother.

^k One might imagine from these words, that *Dr. Swift* had written an account of the reign of *William the Conqueror*, if it had not been for what he

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late of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being restored to his liberty

he says in his letter to Count *Gyllenborg*. [This seeming difficulty will vanish, if we reflect that *Swift* was the editor of Sir *William Temple's* works; where the history of *England*, to the death of the Conqueror, was already treated in a masterly manner. Sir *William* says, " I have traced a short account of this island, the names, the inhabitants, and constitutions thereof, from the first originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable story, or of fair conjecture; since philosophers tell us, that no one can be said to know things well, who does not know them in their beginning. I have further deduced it through the great and memorable changes of names, people, customs, and laws, that passed here, until the end of the first *Norman* reign, which made the last and great period of this kingdom; leaving the successions and constitutions, since that time, so fixed and established, as to have lasted for the space of above six hundred years, without any considerable alteration from so long a course of time, or such variety of events, as have since arrived in the world. I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark ways to his journey; the rest lies fair and easy, through a plain and open country." From this stage Dr. *Swift* set out, and followed the footsteps of his respected patron. Mr. *Thomas Swift*, in a letter printed in the Collection referred to in vol. XVIII. p. 379, lays before his bookseller an ingenious plan suggested by Sir *William Temple*: " He is of opinion that the best and readiest way to compile a good General History of *England* will be, to take in all those parts of it, which have
" been

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berry and possessions in *England*, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing *Lauftranc* preferred before him by the new king in his favour and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of *Norman* birth to depose the king, and sent an invitation to *Robert* to hasten over. Mean time the conspirators, in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of *England* at once; *Bristol*, *Norwich*, *Leicester*, *Worcester*¹, *Shrewsbury*, *Bath*, and *Durham*, were secured by several noblemen: *Odo* himself seized *Rocheſter*, reduced the coasts of *Kent*, and sent messagers to *Robert* to make all possible speed.

“been written by any approved and esteemed authors; and to write nothing new besides those parts which have not yet been touched by authors of name and estimation. And he thinks the variety of the several hands and styles may render it yet more agreeable to the readers than if it were all written by the same pen; which would perhaps be a greater undertaking than any man believes, before he engages in such an attempt.”

Mr. *Swift* then proceeds to point out those authors which Sir *William Temple* thought best suited to this plan; which we learn from Mr. *Duncombe*, was in great measure pursued in the “*Complete History of England*,” published in 1706; of which the two first volumes were put together by Mr. *Hughes*, who also wrote “the general preface;” and the third volume, with “a particular preface,” was written by Dr. (afterwards bishop) *Kennet*. N.]

¹ *Worcester* however at this time suffered only a blockade. See the account of the operations there in *Green's* late survey of the city of *Worcester*, p. 195.

The

WILLIAM THE SECOND. 157

The king, alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it his best course to begin his defence by securing the good-will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raised great forces both by land and sea, marched into *Kent*, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered *Tunbridge* and *Pevensey*, in the latter of which *Odo* himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the king to *Rocheſter*. This city refusing to surrender at the king's summons, *Odo* undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the inhabitants; but, being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or seeming force; however, the king, provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and, forcing him for ever to abjure *England*, sent him into *Normandy*.

By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke *Robert* were wholly disappointed; himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty

¶ *Samuel Daniel*, a very judicious epitomizer of our ancient history, places the conclusion of this treaty in 1087, soon after the establishment of *Rufus* on the *Engliſh* throne, who might well think such

treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to *Normandy*.

About this time died archbishop *Lanfranc*; by whose death the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of *Canterbury* four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those such an expedient necessary at that time, for the reconciling an elder brother to the most mortifying of disappointments. If the treaty was then made, *Robert's* infraction of it by an embarkation of troops in the very next year to succour the *English* rebels, was a plausible call for revenge, and accounts for the king's invasion of *Normandy* in 1090. *Speed*, whom *Dr. Swift* follows here, has been so far misled by *Knighton*, as to represent *Robert* making an actual descent on the *English* coast, landing at *Southampton*, amused there by humble messages from *Rufus*, cajoled into a resignation of his claim, and induced to go back a pensioner instead of a king. But there is no trace of such transactions in the purer narratives of more ancient historians. And if we follow those of *Normandy*, who ought to have the best information of *Robert's* motions, the duke neither embarked with, nor after, his troops: he promised indeed to follow them with a greater force; but *indolence* got the better of his ambition.

of

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of several other bishopricks and abbiesⁿ, and disposed all church preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe mens actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation, that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first, the successors of this king, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbies, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgement to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishopricks belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king's informers, and other

ⁿ As for *Rufus's* appropriating to himself the revenues of vacant sees, this was the result and expected consequence of the feudal establishment made by his father. For when the Conqueror had reduced episcopal and abbatial manors to military and baronial tenure, the care and profits of them, between the demise of each tenant and the entry or installation of his successor, by necessity of that tenure, devolved on the crown. But *Rufus* is deservedly censured for keeping the prelacies vacant longer than was necessary, merely with an avaricious view.

instru-

instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which, the king issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgement of the same authors, the writ *Ne exeat regno* had its beginning.

By these and the like arbitrary methods, having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army, to invade his brother in *Normandy*; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, “That old oppressions are best justified by new;” or whether, having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentments of duke *Robert*, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries, than to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if *Robert* had not desired and obtained the assistance of *Philip* king of *France*, who came with an army to his relief. King *William*, not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftener, or with greater success; and that was, to buy off the *French* king with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately withdrew himself and his forces,

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forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of king *William*; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to banish *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and, for a further security, brought over with him to *England* the duke himself, to attend him in his expedition against *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, who during his absence had invaded the borders. The king, having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person to repel the inroads of the *Scots*: but the enterprize was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of *England* agreed to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manors) in *England*, which *Malcolm* had held under *William the Conqueror*; together with a pension of twelve thousand marks^e.

At

^e So *Brompton* writes. But it is doubtful whether the *Normanic* or *Saxonic* mark of silver be understood. The former was a weight of eight ounces, the latter but an ounce and a half. If we compute by the mark of the *Normans*, the annuity stipulated for *Malcolm* was equivalent to about 185,000*l.* of modern currency; a pension scarce reconcileable with the state of our exchequer in those days. If the smaller or *Saxonic* mark be meant here (which had not yet fallen into disuse, as

appears

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At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and duke *Robert*, who, soliciting the king to perform some covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to *Normandy*.

King *William*, in his return from *Scotland*, fell dangerously sick at *Gloucester*, where, moved by the reasonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anselm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the disposition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their passions usually beat strong and weak with their passions, so it fared with this prince, who upon recovery

appears by the calculations by it in the laws of king *Henry I.*) the pension is more reasonable, being equivalent to about 35,000*l.* of our present money. This at least is rather to be admitted than the account of the greater part of our historians, who set down the provision made for the *Scottish* king at twelve marks of gold per annum, which amounts but to 72*lb.* *Norman*, or 1700*l.* in modern money; a pension unworthy the magnificence of *Rufus*, and too mean for any reigning prince to accept. [The reader who is curious in these researches will find abundant information in *Mr. Clarke's* "Connexion of the *Roman*, *Saxon*, and *English* Coins." On the *Mark*, in particular, see p. 322—326. N.]

or

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of his health soon forgot the vows he had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression, whereof *Anselm*, the new archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the king a sum of money by way of present; but took care it should

* This whole account of the difference between the king and the archbishop is taken from *Eadmer*, a monk of *Canterbury*, and a creature of *Anselm*. A benevolence had been demanded from all the nobility and the prelates towards the expence of the king's expedition to *Normandy* in 1094. If *Anselm*, as it is said, offered 500*l.* towards it, as the share or quota of his own see, that sum (equivalent to at least 11,500*l.* of our currency) was far greater than a poor *Italian* monk, not yet possessed of the temporaries of *Canterbury*, could be expected to raise, and what, if his friends could advance it for him, the necessities of the king would not suffer him to reject: so that this part of *Eadmer*'s apology for his patron confutes itself. But, in fact, the true source of the contest between this prelate and the king was, the former's violent attachment to one of the contenders for the papacy, *Orbe* of *Opis*, styled *Urban* II, whom, when *Italy* had scarce acknowledged him, (for in 1095 the anti-pope *Clement* III. took *Rome*, and the castle of *St. Angelo*, and drove *Urban* from *St. Peter's* chair) *Anselm* would imperiously impose on the king, prelates, and whole realm of *England*, as their apostolic father and pontiff. The king replied, "that his predecessors in *Canterbury* had not taken so much upon them; and that when two popes had been chosen, his

" declaring

should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with scorn; and, as he used

“ declaring for either without approbation of the
 “ king, was an endeavour to pluck from his feet-
 “ reign’s head the crown of England.” A great council was summoned on this occasion at *Rockingham*, Mar. 11, 1095, when the nobility and bishops insisted on *Anselm’s* submission to the king: he pleaded his privilege as primate, and would be judged by none but the pope, and by no pope but *Urban II.* It was however there determined, that *Anselm* should not demand his archiepiscopal pall of *Urban II.*, unless the king should consent. All the prelates, except the bishop of *Exeter*, says *Du Pin*, resolved not to own *Anselm* as primate, so long as he should take part with the bishop of *Osia* (*Urban II.*). But a rebellion which broke out in the Empire, wherein *Conrad* the emperor’s son rose in arms against his father, proved extremely fortunate both for *Urban*, and for his factious instrument *Anselm*. Wicked *Urban* was the seducer of this unnatural son; and the price of his benediction soon appeared. So far as *Conrad’s* sword could influence, *Clement III.* was ejected: so that in 1095 *Urban* was acknowledged through *Lombardy*, but as yet was not master of *Rome*. Fortune now befriended, and even *William of England* was ready to acknowledge, him. Accordingly this pope sent an archiepiscopal pall, for the ceremony of the king’s investing *Anselm* with the primacy: but the haughty monk refused the investiture from the king’s hand, and obstinately persisted, until the pope’s messengers were allowed to lay the pall on the altar of *Canterbury* cathedral;

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used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more. *Anselm* would not comply; and the king, enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until at length the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the king's licence for a journey to *Rome*; and upon a refusal went without it. As soon as he was withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converting them to his own use; and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbishop are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief collection, being of little use to posterity, and of less entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages. Not only this king's father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severely taxed for violating the

throne; whence he vouchsafed to take it (as the canting phrase was) from *St. Peter's land*, although the king had acknowledged and obliged his kingdom to acknowledge *Urban* on this express condition, "That he should be gratified with delivering *Urban's* pall to the archbishop elect." Thus *Rufus*, who would not be bullied, was at last bullied by a priest.

rights

rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the contemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the church and court of *Rome* were in those ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independent state; the inferior clergy, both secular and regular, insisting upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to *Rome*: for they reduced the matter to this short issue, "That God was to be obeyed rather than men; and consequently the bishop of *Rome*, who is Christ's representative, rather than an earthly prince." Neither doth it seem improbable that all Christendom would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the *Roman* see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies, and in a good measure opened the eyes even of those princes and states who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of that Church.

While the king continued at *Gloucester*, *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which *Malcolm* was to pay, in the managing whereof king *William* discovered

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So much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the *Scottish* prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering *Northumberland* with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for *Robert Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, to prevent the destruction of his own country, where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the *Scots*, who were then set down before *Alnwick Castle*: there, by an ambush, *Malcolm* and his eldest son *Edward* were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of queen *Margaret*, who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of *Malcolm*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance of king *William*.

About this time the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried but not extinguished in the last peace, began to

L

flame

flame out into new dissensions; duke *Robert* had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress, which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury: but no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them: the king, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded *Normandy* a second time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints. He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and, intending entirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immediately raised in *England*, and sent over to him. The duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the king of *France*, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own account; for, beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preserving his neighbouring state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of *England*; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king *William*, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from *Wales*, sent offers to his army, just ready to embark for *Normandy*, that upon

payment:

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payment of ten shillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the king of *France*, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king *William*, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this passage there are some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an absent prince, engaged in an unjust war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit, as by this commission to raise twenty thousand men on a sudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to transport so great a number; that, upon the very point of embarking, he should send them so disgraceful an offer: and that so great a number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of money^r, equal to at least twelve times as much in

^r The *Saxon Chronicle*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, and *Matthew Paris*, say, "That *Ralf* the treasurer took from the men the money which had been paid them for their maintenance." "Yes," says Sir *Henry Spelman*, "the money which the country had allowed them for their subsistence; so that if each man paid ten shillings, it might not be from his own purse."

our times^s; and that, after being thus deluded and spoiled at once, they should peaceably disband, and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops consisted of such men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become in-

^s It might more justly be said, equal to four and twenty times as much in our times: for the genuine silver in the sum of ten shillings of *Norman* tale, was of equal weight with the silver that is found in twenty-nine shillings of our present standard coin; *i. e.* weighed 5 oz. and about 13 pwt. and each ounce of silver was at that time worth at least eight times more than at present. Whence we may collect, that ten shillings of *Rufus's* money was equivalent to at least twelve pounds sterling of our present currency. The curious reader may consult bishop *Fleetwood's Chronicon preciosum*, and a synoptical table of the variations in the standard of *English* coin, by *Martin Folkes, Esq;* published in an anonymous *Essay upon Money and Coins*, [and the work of *Mr. Clarke*, mentioned in p. 162.]

fruments

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struments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The king, upon his return from *Normandy*, made an unsuccessful expedition against the *Welsh*, who, upon the advantages of his absence, had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Hereford*. Upon the king's approach, they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for *Robert* earl of *Northumberland*, over-rating his late services against the *Scots*, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were under-valued by the king, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The earl, having disobeyed the king's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king *William*, and set up *Stephen* earl of *Albanarle*, son of a sister to *William the Conqueror*: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed, and surprized the rebels at *Newcastle*, took the castles of *Tinmouth* and *Damburgh*¹; where

¹ Now called *Bamborough*.

the obstinacy of the defendant^u provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their persons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life^u.

About this time began the Holy War^w for recovering of *Palestine*; which having not been the enterprize of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in Christendom had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope *Urban* the second, in a council at *Clermont*, made a pathetic exhortation, shewing with what danger and indignity to Christendom the *Turks* and *Saracens* had, for some ages, not only over-run all *Asia* and *Africa*, where Christianity had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into *Europe*, where they had entirely subdued *Spain*, and some other parts: "That *Jerusalem*, the holy city, "where our Saviour did so many miracles, "and where his sepulchre still remained, to "the scandal of the Christian name, lay

^u Which was thirty years.

^w The *Croisades*, which were attempted by *Gregory VII.* were carried into execution at the instigation of *Peter the Hermit* by *Urban II.* in the year 1095. In the following year, 800,000 men went forth on this pious expedition. See *Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. V. p. 53. N.

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“groaning under the tyranny of Infidels;
 “that the swords, which Christian princes had
 “drawn against each other, ought to be turned
 “against the common enemy of their name
 “and religion; that this should be reckoned
 “an ample satisfaction for all their past sins;
 “that those who died in this expedition should
 “immediately go to heaven, and the sur-
 “vivors would be blessed with the sight of
 “our Lord’s sepulchre.”

Moved by these arguments, and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the Cross; and, the council dissolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed so far in their several countries, that in most parts of *Europe* some great prince or lord became a votary for *The Holy Land*; as *Hugh the Great*, brother to the king of *France*; *Godfrey* duke of *Lorrain*; *Reimond* count of *Toulouse*; *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprize: doubtless a notable mark of the force of oratory in the church men of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honour of promoting this religious war is attributed to the zeal
 and

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and industry of a certain *French* priest, commonly called *Peter the Hermit*; who, being at *Jerusalem* upon a pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him such credit with the Pope and several princes of **Christendom**, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the Infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in **Christendom** among all sorts of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims: who, at the siege of *Nice*, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse: and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for, besides several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took *Nice*, *Antioch*, and at last *Jerusalem*, where duke *Godfrey* was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprizes, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel: for in a few

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years the piety of these adventurers began to slacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies : however, to this spirit of devotion there succeeded a spirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times ; and the *Holy Land* became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to shew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The Christians held possession of *Jerusalem* above eighty years ^x, and continued their expeditions to the *Holy Land* almost as many more, with various events ; and, after they were entirely driven out of *Asia*, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new crusades ; neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day ; the usual projects of sanguine men, for uniting Christendom against the *Turk*, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

Robert, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his duchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold ^y ; which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, towards the church and laity, as very much encreased the discontents of both against the prince.

^x They held it eighty-eight years ; from *July* 1099, to *October* 1187.

^y Equal to 1,400,000 *l.* as money passes now.

1099. I shall record one act of this king's, which, being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of history.

As he was hunting one day in *The New Forest*, a messenger express from *Normandy* brought him intelligence that *Helie*, count *de la Fieche*, had laid close siege to *Mans*, and expected to carry the town in a few days; the king, leaving his chace, commanded some about him to point whereabout *Mans* lay; and so rode straight on without reflection, until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned, "They that love me, will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the king commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himself prisoner, who, raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed^z, "That this blow was
" from

^z There is so much pleasantry and humour, as well as spirit and heroism in this story, as we have it recorded by *William de Malmesbury*, who represents the menace as thrown out in the king's presence, that I shall make no apology for setting down his

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“from Fortune; but Valour could make
“reprizals, as he should shew if ever he re-
“gained his liberty.” This being told the
king, he sent for the count, let him under-
stand that he had heard of his menaces, then
gave him a fine horse, bid him be gone im-
mediately, and desired him to do his worst.

It would have been an injury to this prince’s
memory, to let pass an action, by which he
acquired more honour than from any other in
his life, and by which it appeared that he was
not without some seeds of magnanimity, had
they been better cultivated, or not over-run
by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this king’s
reign that deserved to be remembered; for,
as to an unsuccessful expedition or two against
Wales, either by himself or his generals, they
were very inconsiderable both in action and

his words at length: “*Author turbarum Helias*
“*capitur; cui ad se adducto rex ludibundus, ‘He-*
“*beo te, magister, inquit.’ At ille, cujus alta*
“*nobilitas nesciret etiam in tanto periculo sapere;*
“*‘Fortuitò, inquit, me cepisti: si possum eva-*
“*dere, novi quid facerem.’ Tunc, Willielmus,*
“*præ furore fere extra se positus, & obtuens He-*
“*liam, ‘Tu,’ inquit, ‘nebulo, tu quid faceres!*
“*Discede; abi; fuge.’ Concedo tibi ut facias*
“*quicquid poteris: et per vultum de Luca, nihil*
“*si me viceris, nihil pro hac veniâ tecum paciscar.’*
i. e. By the face of St. Luke, if thou shouldst have
the fortune to conquer me, I scorn to compound
with thee for my release.

event,

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event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity, either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in *The New Forest*, in *Hampshire*, a large stag crossed the way before him; the king, hot on his game, cried out in haste to *Walter Tyrrel*, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; *Tyrrel* immediately let fly his arrow, which, glancing against a tree, struck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprize of this accident, all his attendants, and *Tyrrel*^a among the rest, fled different ways; until, the fright being a little over, some of them returned, and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to *Winchester*, where it was buried the next day without solemnity, and, which is worse, without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign, with a description and character of his body and mind, impartially from the collections I have made; which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

^a Yet *Eadmer* saith, That *Tyrrel* told him, he had not been in the Forest that day.

He

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He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied; but he was well and strongly knit. His hair was yellow or sandy; his face red, which got him the name of *Rufus*; his fore-head flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health, and the frequent exercise of hunting; in his dress, he affected gaiety and expence; which, having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in succeeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us the luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree; only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent, than the former: for, being entirely a man of pleasure, this made him sacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise^b: he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those

^b Yet he was sometimes guilty of breach of his faith in treaties. But he is not the only prince who in different characters had different measures of right and wrong; a public and private conscience.

ages produce several instances; nor did he want skill and conduct in the process of war. But his peculiar excellency was that of great dispatch, which, however usually derided, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander, by surprizing and daunting an enemy when he least expects it; as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as wit and humour upon occasion. There were several tenets in the *Romish* church he could not digest; particularly that of the saints' intercession; and, living in an age over-run with superstition, he went so far into the other extreme, as to be censured for an Atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forbode him some misfortune, the king, being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, "The man was a Monk, and dreamt like a Monk, for lucre sake;" and therefore commanded *Fitzhamon* to give him an hundred shilling, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for, being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences^c. To supply

^c Not from his attachment to grosser pleasures; but from his vanity, study of magnificence, buildings,

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supply these, the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent than the other; which put the king and his evil instruments (among whom *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression; whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behaviour; which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient, for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflexions that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done

ings, affectation of generosity, and profuseness in rewarding the bravery of his soldiers. The Monks bring against him a general charge of incontinency; but mention no particulars: No spurious issue is heard of; no mistress raised to rank and splendour; not the name of any of his private favourites has reached us. Had he been as tractable to *Anselm*, as *Edgar* was to *Dunstan*; had he laid his sceptre under the feet of that insolent bigot; the same Monks would have celebrated his piety, and palliated his failings; as the popes were equally grateful to *Dunstan*, *Anselm*, and *Becket*, by exalting those incendiaries into saints.

M :

either

either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one instance, that might shew him to have some sense of religion as well as justice. When two Monks were outwitting each other in canting the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance, who said never a word. The king demanded why he would not offer. The Monk said, "He was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich." The king replied, "Then you are the fittest person to have it;" and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reason enough, assigned more to caprice than conscience; for he was under the power of every humour and passion that possessed him for the present; which made him obstinate in his resolves, and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly, that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, most unfitting a prince: This was, a proud disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture: and having already lost the love of his subjects by his avarice and oppression, this finished the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants; so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill-beloved, or so little lamented.

He never married; having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

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He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of *Christ* 1100, *August* 2.

His works of piety were few ; but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of *England* before or since, among which *Westminster-Hall*, *Windsor-Castle*, the *Tower* of *London*, and the whole city of *Carlisle*, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

The REIGN of HENRY the FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngest son of *William the Conqueror*, and bred to more learning than was usual in that age or to his rank, which got him the surname of *Beauclerc*; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in *England*, and born son of a king, although of little weight in themselves, did very much strengthen his pretensions with the people. Besides, he had the same advantage of his brother *Robert's* absence, which had proved before successful to *Rufus*, whose treasures he likewise seized on immediately at his death, after the same manner, and for the same end, as *Rufus* did those of his father the *Conqueror*. *Robert* had been now five years absent in the *Holy War*, where he acquitted himself with glory; and although he was now in *Apulia*, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* laid hold of the occasion, and, calling together an assembly of the clergy,

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clergy, nobles, and people of the realm, at *London*, upon his promises to restore king *Edward's* laws, and redress the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they consented to elect him king^d. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuses of the late reign: he banished dissolute persons from the court, who had long infested it under the protection and example of *Rufus*: he restored the people to the use of lights in the night, which the *Conqueror* had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he published his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in *England*. This charter was in substance; The freedom of Mother Church from former oppressions; leave to the heirs and nobles to

^d Notwithstanding the phrase *electus est* be used on this very occasion by *Henry of Huntingdon* and *William of Malmesbury*, there seems to be a manifest impropriety in it. The barons convened at *London*, upon news of *William's* death, pretended to no power of electing a monarch, but of declaring to whom the crown had devolved. A false charge of illegitimacy was made use of to destroy the title of *Robert*. *Imposuerunt ei illegitimatē, quod non fuerat procreatus de legitimo thoro Willielmi Conquestoris; unde unanimi assensu suo ipsum refutaverunt, & pro Rege omnino recusaverunt, & Henricum fratrem in Regem creaverunt. Knyghton.* The body of barons, or great council of the land, were in all such emergencies deemed the interpreters or judges of the law of succession.

succeed in the possession of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief^c; abolition of fines for licence of marriage to their heiresses; a promise of not refusing such licence, unless the match proposed be with the king's enemy^d, &c. the next of kin to be

^c This was in appearance a very important concession, and yet proved of little use; for so long as the measure and proportion of such *relief* (or fine upon admittance) was left undetermined, a door was still open for grievous exactions. Whence the barons, in their famous convention with king *John*, obliged him to settle the *relief* of their heirs at 100 pounds for an earl's barony, 100 marks for a common barony, and 100 shillings for a knight's fief; which was the ancient fine upon succession, and was supposed to be a fourth part of the yearly income of the respective inheritances. See *Magna Charta*, art. 3. "*Hæres suus plenæ ætatis — babeat hæreditatem suam per antiquum relevium; scil. hæres comitis, &c.*" That there were very great abuses in this branch of the royal revenue in the preceding reign, may appear from the *relief* exacted of *Robert de Belesme* earl of *Sbrevsbury*, upon his succeeding in 1098 to the baronies of his elder brother: this, we are told by *Ordericus Vitalis*, was 3000*l.* an enormous sum in those times, and equivalent to about 69,700*l.* in the present. A nobleman, reduced to compound in this manner with the crown, before he could have legal possession of his paternal estate, might well be said to *redeem* it.

^d i. e. with a traitor or malecontent.

guardians

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guardians of the lands of orphans; punishments for coiners of false money; a confirmation of *St. Edward's* laws; and a general amnesty.

About the same time he performed two acts of justice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his person: the first was, to imprison *Ralph*, bishop of *Durham*, who, having been raised by the late king from a mean and sordid birth to be his prime confident and minister, became the chief instrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppressions: the second was, in recalling and restoring archbishop *Anselm*, who, having been forced by the continual persecutions of the same prince to leave *England*, had lived ever since in banishment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came that duke *Robert*, returned from the *Holy Land*, was received by his subjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in universal reputation for his valour and success against the Infidels: soon after which, *Ralph* bishop of *Durham*, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, escaped out of prison, and fled over to the duke; whom he stirred up to renew and solicit his pretensions to the crown of *England*, by writing to several nobles, who, either through old friendship or new discontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promises of their assistance, as soon as he should land

in *England*: but the duke, having returned exceeding poor from the *Holy Land*, was not yet in a condition for such an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more seasonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto, with great industry, sought all occasions to gratify his people, so he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was *Matilda*, daughter of *Malcolm* the late king of *Scots*; a lady of great piety and virtue, who, by the power or persuasion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloister for a crown, after she had, as some writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was sister to *Edgar Atheling*, the last heir male of the *Saxon* race; of whom frequent mention hath been made in the two preceding reigns: and thus the *Saxon* line, to the great contentment of the *English* nation, was again restored.

Duke *Robert*, having now with much difficulty and oppression of his subjects, raised great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, resolved once more to assert his title to the crown of *England*: to which end he had for some time held a secret correspondence with several nobles, and lately received fresh invitations. The king, on the other side, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave order to his admirals to watch the sea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of several ships, whether *Robert* had won them by his bribes or his promises, in-

stead

stead of offering resistance, became his guides, and brought his fleet safe into *Portsmouth*, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to *Winchester*, his army hourly increasing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his person, an opinion of his title, or a hatred to the king. In the mean time *Henry* advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and observe his motions; but, like a wise general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifest advantage. Besides, he knew very well that his brother was a person whose power was much inferior to his valour, and therefore to be sooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both sides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at last concert the terms of a peace: but wholly to the advantage of the king. *Robert* renouncing his pretensions in consideration of a small pension, and of succeeding to the crown on default of male issue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was so great, that men generally thought, if it had come to a battle, the king would have lost both the victory and his crown. But *Robert*, upon his return to *Normandy* after this dishonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own subjects, which in a short time was the cause of his ruin.

The king, having thus by his prudence got rid of a dangerous and troublesome rival, and soon after by his valour quelled the insurrections of the earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Mortain*, whom he forced to fly into *Normandy*, found himself in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the Church, about the right of investing bishops; upon which subject many other princes at that time had controversy with their clergy, but, after long struggling in vain, were all forced to yield at last to the decree of a synod in *Rome*, and to the pertinacity of the bishops in the several countries. The form of investing a bishop was by delivery of a ring and a pastoral staff; which, at *Rome*, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay-hand whatsoever; but the princes of Christendom pleaded immemorial custom to authorize them: and king *Henry*, having given the investiture to certain bishops, commanded *Anselm* to consecrate them. This the archbishop refused with great firmness, pursuant to what he understood to be his duty, and to several immediate commands of the pope. Both sides adhering to their own sentiments, the matter was carried to *Rome*, where *Anselm* went in person, by the king's desire; who, at the same time, sent ambassadors thither, to assert and defend his cause; but, the pope still insisting, *Anselm* was forbidden to return to *England*. The king seized on all his revenues, and would not restore him, until, upon other concessions,

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of the pope. Henry was content to yield up his pretensions to the investiture; but, however, kept the right of electing still in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing bishops in the more primitive ages, it seems plain to me that in these times, and somewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum*, yet the king always nominated at first, or approved afterwards, and generally both; as may be seen by the style in which their elections ran, as well as by the persons chosen, who were usually churchmen of the court, or in some employment near the king. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the spiritual power, I had rather leave others to dispute.

1104. About this time duke Robert came to *England*, upon a visit to the king, where he was received with much kindness and hospitality; but, at the same time, the queen had private directions to manage his easy temper, and work him to a consent of remitting his person. This was compassed without much difficulty: but, upon the duke's return to *Normandy*, he was severely reprov'd for his weakness by Ralph bishop of *Durham*, and the two earls of *Mortain* and *Shrewsbury*. These three, having fled from *England* for rebellion and other treasons, lived exiles in *Normandy*; and, bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, resolv'd to stir up the duke to a resentment of the injury and fraud of his brother.

brother. *Robert*, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the present persuader, easily yielded to their incitements: reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and messages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding satisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the same time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himself as formidably as he could, with design to seize the king's possessions in *Normandy*: but, as this resolution was rashly taken up, so it was as faintly pursued, and ended in his destruction: neither hath any prince reason to expect better fortune, that engages in a war against a powerful neighbour upon the counsel or instigation of exiles, who, having no farther view than to serve their private interest, or gratify their revenge, are sure to succeed in one or the other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falsest representations of their own strength, and the weakness of their enemy: for as the king was now settled in his throne too firm to be shaken, so *Robert* had wholly lost all credit and friendship in *England*; was sunk in reputation at home; and, by his unlimited profuseness, reduced so low, that, having pawned most of his dominions, he had offered *Rouen*, his capital city, in sale to the inhabitants. All this was
1105 very well known to the king, who, resolving to make his advantage thereof, pre-
tended

tended to be highly provoked at the disgraceful speeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occasion of a quarrel: therefore he first sent over some forces to ravage his country; and, understanding that the duke was coldly supported by his own subjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he soon followed in person with more; took several towns; and, placing garrisons therein, came back to *England*, designing with the first pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly subdue the duchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown sensible of his weakness, became wholly dispirited; and following his brother into *England*, in a most dejected manner begged for peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in disdain, muttering at the same time some threatening words. This indignity roused up once more the sinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, detesting the pride and insolence of *Henry*, withdrew in a rage, and, hasting back to *Normandy*, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king, observing his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition, and being assured that those in *Normandy* would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, soon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival, he was attended, according to his expectation, by several *Norman* lords; and with this formidable force, sat down before *Tencherbebray*: the duke,

duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what strength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the siege of so important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king, trusting to their numbers, began the charge with great fury, but without any order. The duke, 1106 with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmness; and, finding they had spent their first heat, advanced very regularly against their main body, before they could recover themselves from the confusion they were in. He attacked them with so much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every side. The king, believing all was lost, did what he could by threats and gentle words to stop the flight of his men, but found it impossible: then he commanded two bodies of horse, which were placed in either wing, to join, and, wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himself so near a victory, was forced to stop his pursuit; and, ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew; mean time the scattered parts of the main body, which had so lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the *Normans* behind, by which duke *Robert's* army was almost encompassed; yet they kept their ground a while, and made several charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There duke *Robert*, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken prisoner,

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lencer, together with the earl of *Mortain*, and almost his whole army: for, being hemmed in on all sides, few of them could make their escape. Thus, in the space of forty years, *Normandy* subdued *England*, 1107 and *England* *Normandy*; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages or parts of the world.

The king, having staid a while to settle the state of *Normandy*, returned with his brother into *England*, whom he sent prisoner to *Cardiff castle*, with orders that he should be favourably used, which, for some time, were duly observed; until, being accused of attempting to make his escape (whether it were real or feigned), he had his eyes put out with a burning basin, by the king's express commands; in which miserable condition he lived for six and twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with so little pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and sanctified his cause, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which seems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of Christ to a prince who had performed so many brave exploits for the service of the Church, to the hazard of his person, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigoted monks, who have left us their accounts of those times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the *Roman* court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promised to remit his right of investing bishops, which
he

he performed immediately after his reduction of *Normandy*, and was a matter of much more service to the pope, than all the achievements of duke *Robert* in the Holy Land, whose merits, as well as pretensions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time, the emperor *Henry V.* sent to desire *Maude* the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: this prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the see of *Rome*, which began upon the same subject of investing bishops, but was carried to great extremities: for, invading *Italy* with a mighty army, he took the pope prisoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impose, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as soon as *Henry* had withdrawn his forces, the pope, assembling a council, revoked all his concessions, as extorted by compulsion, and raised great troubles in *Germany* against the emperor, who, in order to secure himself, sought this alliance with the king.

About this time likewise died archbishop *Anselm*, a prelate of great piety and learning, whose zeal for the see of *Rome*, as well as for his own rights and privileges, should in justice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the steps of his brother, held the see vacant five years, contenting himself with an excuse, which looked like a jest, "That he
" only

"only waited until he could find another so good a man as *Anselm*."

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the *Welsh*, after their usual manner, invaded the Marches with great fury and destruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to those perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in person against them with a powerful army; and, to prevent their usual stratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other fastnesses, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beset all their places of security, and, hunting them like wild beasts, made so terrible a slaughter, that at length, observing them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his soldiers to forbear; then, receiving their submissions, and placing garrisons where he thought necessary, he returned, in great triumph and satisfaction, to *London*.

1114. The princess *Maude*, being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambassador; and for a portion to the young lady a tax was imposed of three shillings upon every hide of land in *England*, which grew afterwards into a custom, and was in succeeding times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of *Reasonable Aid for marrying the King's Daughter*, although levied after a different manner.

A.

§ This sort of imposition was new to the *English*; but was a consequence of the military tenure established by the Conqueror. The like *aid*, or *scutage*,

As the institution of parliaments in *England* is agreed by several writers to be owing to this king, so the date of the first hath been assigned by some to the fifteenth year of his reign; which, however, is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the *Saxon* princes^h, who first introduced them into this island, from the same original with the other *Gothic* forms of government in most parts of *Europe*. These councils or assemblies were composed, according to the pleasure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and bishops, sometimes were added some considerable commoners; but they seldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who, being a wise and popular prince, called these great assemblies upon most important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their

as it was called, had been levied in other parts of *Europe*, wherever the feudal system had taken place, as oft as the lord of the fief had occasion to celebrate the nuptials of his eldest daughter, or the knighthood of his eldest son. We should have heard of this demand earlier in *England*, if any such occasion had happened. *Maude* was the first princess-royal given in marriage after the Conquest.

^h The *Saxon* parliaments were often provincial, as they now are in *France*; and the regulations made in one Province were transmitted to others for their approbation, if the national interest was concerned. See *Clarke on Coins*, p. 463. N.

advice,

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advice, which, if it proved successful, the honour and advantage redounded to him, and if otherwise, he was free from the blame: thus, when he chose a wife for himself, and a husband for his daughter, when he designed his expedition against *Robert*, and even for the election of an archbishop to the see of *Canterbury*, he proceeded wholly by the advice of such general assemblies, summoned for the purpose. But the style of these conventions, as delivered by several authors, is very various; sometimes it is *comites, barones, & cleri*¹; his marriage was agreed on, *consilio majorum natu & magnatum terræ*. One author² calls it *consilium principum, sacerdotum, & reliqui populi*. And for the election of an archbishop, the *Saxon Chronicle* says, That he commanded by letters all bishops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at *Gloucester, ad procerum conventum*. Lastly, some affirm these assemblies to have been an imitation of the three estates in *Normandy*. I am very sensible how much time and pains have been employed by several learned men to search out the original of parliaments in *England*, wherein I doubt they have little satisfied others or themselves. I know likewise that to engage in the same inquiry, would neither suit my abilities nor my subject. It may be sufficient for my purpose, if I be able to give some light into this matter, for the curiosity of those who are less informed.

¹ *Brompton.*

² *Polydore Vergil.*

The institution of a state or Commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the schools, however it be derided as a solecism and absurdity by some late writers on politicks, hath been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the gravest authors of antiquity: for although the supreme power cannot properly be said to be divided, yet it may be so placed in three several hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoise in each scale. Thus the kingdom of *Media* is represented by *Xenophon* before the reign of *Cyrus*; so *Polybius* tells us, the best government is a mixture of three forms, *regno, optimatum, & populi imperio*: the same was that of *Sparta* in its primitive institution by *Lycurgus*, made up of *reges, seniores, & populus*; the like may be asserted of *Rome, Carthage*, and other states: and the *Germans* of old fell upon the same model, from whence the *Goths* their neighbours, with the rest of those Northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an assembly of the three estates is not properly of *Gothick* institution: for these fierce people, when upon the decline of the *Roman* empire they first invaded *Europe*, and settled so many kingdoms in *Italy, Spain*, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themselves in a tract of land left desolate by the flight or destruction of the natives, their military government by time and
peace

peace became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and ministers of state, and the common soldiers the body of the people; but these were freemen, and had smaller portions of land assigned them. The remaining natives were all slaves; the nobles were a standing council; and, upon affairs of great importance, the freemen were likewise called by their representatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the *Gothic* frame of government consisted at first but of two states or assemblies, under the administration of a single person. But, after the conversion of these princes and their people to the Christian faith, the Church became endowed with great possessions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and industry of the clergy, winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the ecclesiasticks began soon to grow considerable, to form themselves into a body, and to call assemblies or synods by their own authority, or sometimes by the command of their princes, who in an ignorant age had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By such degrees the Church arrived at length, by very justifiable steps, to have her share in the commonwealth, and became a third estate in most kingdoms of *Europe*; but these assemblies, as we have already observed, were seldom called in *England* before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always composed

after

after the same manner; neither does it appear from the writers who lived nearest to that age, that the people had any representative at all, beside the barons and other nobles, who did not sit in those assemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the present constitution of the *English* parliament hath, by many degrees and alterations, been modeled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I shall observe in the succeeding reigns as exactly as I can discover them by a diligent search into the histories of the several ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return. *Louis the Gross* king of *France*, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, succeeding to that crown about the time that *Robert* was deprived of *Normandy*, grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of king *Henry*, and began early to entertain designs either of subduing that duchy to himself, or at least of making a considerable party against the king in favour of *William* son of *Robert*, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Pursuant to these intentions, he soon found an occasion for quarrel: expostulating with *Henry*, that he had broken his promise by not doing homage for the duchy of *Normandy*, as well as by neglecting to raze the castle of *Gisors*, which was built on the *French* side of the river *Epte*,
the

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the common boundary between both dominions^k.

But an incident soon offered, which gave king *Henry* a pretext of retaliating almost in the same manner: for it happened that, upon some offence taken against his nephew *Theobald* count of *Blois* by the *French* king, *Louis* in great rage sent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. *Theobald* defended himself for a while with much valour; but at length, in danger to be overpowered, requested aid of his uncle the king of *England*, who supported him to effectually with men and money, that he was able not only to defend his own country, but very much to molest and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings; *Louis* now openly asserted the title of *William* the son of *Rober*; and, entering into an alliance with the earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, began to concert measures for driving king *Henry* out of *Normandy*.

* Some years before, there had been a treaty concluded between *France* and *Normandy*; wherein, among other points, it was agreed, That the frontier town *Gisors* should be sequestered in the hands of a baron called *Payen*, who was to receive into it neither *English*, nor *Norman*, nor *French* troops; but in case it should fall into the hands of either of the two kings, it was stipulated that the walls should be razed within the space of forty days. Notwithstanding this, *Henry* had seized the place; and when called upon to sequester it, or else to raze the walls, declined the doing either. Father *Daniel*.

The king, having timely intelligence of his enemy's designs, began with great vigour and dispatch to prepare himself for war: he raised, with much difficulty and discontent of his people, the greatest tax that had ever been known in *England*; and, passing over into *Normandy* with a mighty army, joined his nephew *Theobald*. The king of *France*, who had entertained hopes that he should over-run the duchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great security towards the frontiers of *Normandy*; but, observing an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he suddenly stopt his march. The two armies faced one another for some hours, neither side offering battle; the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes begun by the *French*, and repeated for some days following with various success; but the remainder of the year passed without any considerable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for *Louis*, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of *Normandy*, and after a short siege took *Gué Nicaise*¹; there the king met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides for nine hours. The *French* army was divided into two bodies, and the *English* into three; by which means, that part where the king fought in person, being attacked by a superior

¹ At that time reckoned an important fortress on the river *Epte*.

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number, began to give way; and *William Crispin*, a *Norman* baron, singling out the king of *England* (whose subject he had been, but banished for treason) struck him twice on the head with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth. The king, inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt such furious blows, that he struck down several of his enemies, and *Crispin* among the rest, who was taken prisoner at his horse's feet. The soldiers, encouraged by the valour of their prince, rallied, and fell on with fresh vigour; and the victory seemed doubtful, when *William* the son of king *Henry*, to whom his father had intrusted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this fresh reserve upon the enemy, who was already very much harrassed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the *French*, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the slaughter of several thousand men; their king quitted the field, and withdrew to *Andeli*; but the king of *England*, recovering *Gué Nicaise*, returned triumphant to *Rouen*.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the earl of *Anjou* to king *Henry*, and the earl of *Flanders* fell in the battle; by which the king of *France* was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the intercession of the former, a peace was soon after made between both crowns. *William* the king's son did homage to *Louis* for the dukedom of *Normandy*; and the other *William*,

following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretensions and complaints.

It is here observable, that, from this time, until *Wales* was subdued to the *English* crown, the eldest sons of *England* were called dukes of *Normandy*, as they are now princes of *Wales*.

1120. The king, having staid some time in *Normandy*, for the settlement of his duchy after the calamities and confusions of a war, returned to *England*, to the very great satisfaction of his people and himself. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of *Normandy*. He had subdued all his competitors; and forced even the king of *France*, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace. He was upon very good terms with the pope, who had a great esteem and friendship for his person, and made him larger concessions than was usual from that see, and in those ages. At home he was respected by the clergy, revered by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was blessed with a son of much hopes, just growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empress; so that he seemed to possess as great a share of happiness as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumstances, which are all subject to various accidents, and every single accident is able to dissolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince, who, by one domestic misfortune, not to be prevented

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vented or foreseen, found all the pleasure and content he proposed to himself by his prudence, his industry, and his valour, wholly disappointed and destroyed: for *William* the young prince having embarked at *Bayfleur* some time after his father, the mariners, being all drunk, suffered the ship to run upon a rock, where it was dashed to pieces: the prince made a shift to get into the boat, and was making to the shore, until, forced back by the cries of his sister, whom he received into the boat, so many others crowded in at the same time, that it was immediately overturned. There perished, beside the prince, a natural son and daughter of the king's, his niece, and many other persons of quality, together with all their attendants and servants, to the number of a hundred and forty, besides fifty mariners, but one person escaping.

Although the king survived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and morose; however, in order to provide better for the peace and settlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loss of his son, his former queen having died three years before, he married *Alelais*, a beautiful young lady of the family of *Lorraine*^m; in hopes of issue by her, but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occasion to some new troubles in *Normandy*; for he calls

^m She was daughter of *Godfrey*, duke of *Lorraine*, or the *Lower Lorraine*.

of *Meulant* and *Evreux*, *Hugh de Montfort*, and other associates, began to raise insurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the *French* king, out of enmity to king *Henry*, and in favour of *William* the son of *Robert*, to whom the earl of *Anjou* had lately given his daughter in marriage.

1124 But *William* of *Tankerville*, the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, surprizing the enemy's forces by an ambush, entirely routed them, took both the earls prisoners, and sent one of them (*Meulant*) to his master; But the count *d'Evreux* made his escape.

1126. King *Henry*, having now lost hope of issue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to *England*, his daughter *Maude*, who by the emperor's death had been lately left a widow and childless; and in a parliament or general assembly which he had summoned at *Windsor*, he caused the crown to be settled on her and her children, and made all his nobles take a solemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with so much forwardness as *Stephen* earl of *Boulogne*, who was observed to shew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the king's nephew, being second son of the earl of *Blois* by *Adela* the Conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the king his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heiress of the earl of *Boulogne*, given him great possessions in *England*, and made him and a too powerful for a subject.

The

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The king, having thus fixed the succession of the crown in his daughter by an act of settlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a second husband, and at length determined his choice in *Geoffry Plantagenet* earl of *Anjou*, the son of *Fulk* lately deceased.

This prince, whose dominions confined on *France* and *Normandy*, was usually courted for an ally by both kings in their several quarrels; but, having little faith or honour, he never scrupled to change sides as often as he saw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the *French*, he closed in with king *Henry*, and gave his daughter to the young prince *William*; yet, at the same time, by the private encouragement of *Louis*, he prevailed on the king of *England* to be easy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loss of the prince, and the troubles in *Normandy* thereupon, he fell again from the king, gave his other daughter to *William* the son of *Robert*, and struck up with *France* to take that prince again into protection. But dying soon after, and leaving his son *Geoffry* to succeed in that earldom, the king was of opinion he could not any where bestow his daughter with more advantage, both for the security and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage *Anjou* would become an acquisition to *Normandy*, and this be a more equal match to so formidable a neighbour as *France*. In a short time the marriage was concluded; and this

this earl *Geoffry* had the honour to introduce into the royal family of *England* the surname of *Plantagenet*, borne by so many succeeding kings, which began with *Henry II*, who was the eldest son of this marriage.

But the king of *France* was in great discontent at this match: he easily foresaw the dismal consequences to himself and his successors from such an increase of dominion united to the crown of *England*: he knew what impressions might be made in future times, to the shaking of his throne, by an aspiring and warlike king, if they should happen in a weak reign, or upon any great discontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reasonable (and since often verified by events), he cast about to find some way of driving the king of *England* entirely out of *France*; but having neither pretext nor stomach in the midst of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plausible occasion of pursuing his design.

Charles the Good earl of *Flanders* having been lately murdered by some of his subjects, upon private revenge, the king of *France* went in person to take revenge of the assassins; which he performed with great justice and honour. But, the late earl leaving no heir of his body, and several competitors appearing to dispute the succession, *Louis* rejected some others who seemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to *William* the son of *Robert*, the better to secure him to his interests upon
any

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any design he might engage in against the king of *England*. Not content with this, he assisted the earl in person, subdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable possession of his new dominion.

King *Henry*, on the other side, was very apprehensive of his nephew's greatness, well knowing to what end it was directed: however, he seemed not to regard it, contenting himself to give the earl employment at home by privately nourishing the discontents of his new subjects, and abetting under-hand another pretender: for *William* had so entirely lost the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in *Flanders* revolted from him, and invited *Thiervie* earl of *Alsace* to be their governor. But the king of *France* generously resolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into *Flanders* for that purpose. He had marched as far as *Artois*, when he was suddenly recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader: for *Henry* king of *England*, moved with indignation to see the *French* king in the midst of a peace so frequently and openly supporting his most dangerous enemy, thought it the best way to divert *Louis* from kindling a fire against him abroad, by forcing him to extinguish one at home: he therefore entered into the bowels of *France*, ravaging and laying waste all before him, and quickly grew so formidable, that the *French* king, to purchase a peace, was forced

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forced to promise never more to assist or favour the earl of *Flanders*; however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needless; for the young earl soon after gave battle to *Thierrie*, and put his whole army to the rout; but, pursuing his victory, he received a wound in his wrist, which by the unskilfulness of a surgeon, cost him his life ⁿ.

This one slight inconsiderable accident did, in all probability, put a stop to very great events; for if that young prince had survived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but, through the justness of his cause, the reputation of his valour, and the assistance of the king of *France*, he would in a little time have recovered *Normandy*, and perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two designs he had in agitation; nor could he well have missed the crown of *England* after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had so fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from *Normandy*, a great council of the clergy was held at *London*, for the punishing of priests who lived in concubinage^o, which was the great grievance

ⁿ The lance passed through or under the ball of his thumb into his wrist. The wound gangrening, he died within five days.

^o For celibacy was now placed among the first of ecclesiastic virtues. Not concubines only, but wives, were deemed a reproach to the sacred order; and
canons

grievance of the Church in those ages, and had been condemned by several canons. This assembly,

canons were made, for inflicting equal punishments on clergymen who cohabited with either: nay, the wives of priests were denied to be wives, and degraded into the rank of concubines.

At some preceding councils in this reign, severe decrees passed, to restrain ecclesiastics from matrimony, and to chastise those who being married should neglect to repudiate their wives. If a *priest, deacon, subdeacon, &c.* should suffer any woman, except a mother, sister, aunt, or person equally unsuspected, to dwell in the house with him, he was to be punished with loss of benefice and loss of his order, and the concubinary or suspected female to be arrested, disciplined, or reduced to be a slave. [Concil. Lond. anno 1126, c. 13.—*Westmonast.* anno 1127. c. 5. 7.] These were laws which the policy of Rome suggested, but which the king and lay-barons might not fully approve. They were laws that could not, however, be put generally in execution, considering the number and power of the married clergy at this time (to whose claim of the *honourable and undefiled bed* the last blow had not yet been given) without the aid and concurrence of the civil power: the king seemed ready to co-operate, and found his advantage in so doing. In the very beginning of his reign, he was remarkably active in enforcing the new canons against clerical incontinency, by levying fines on the transgressors, without waiting for their conviction in an ecclesiastical court, or rather in lieu of the penalties which such court might inflict.

This

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more effectual
as it was

an invasion of the spiritual
a motive of avarice was sup-
under the zeal he pretended for the
of the Church. *Richard*, though lately
affected to royal favour, and to the possession of
the revenues of his see, could not brook such pro-
ceedings: he dispatched out of *Normancy* a chiding
epistle to the king. A short extract from it may
shew the spirit of the man, and the style in which
bishops durst admonish their sovereigns. “Audio
“quòd vestra excellentia vindictam exercet super
“presbyteros Anglie, et forsacturam exigit ab
“iis qui non servaverant pnceptum concilii, quod
“ego cum vestro favore tenui apud Londoniam cum
“aliis episcopis, &c. quod hactenus inauditum &
“innotatum in ecclesiâ Dei de ullo rege & de aliquo
“principe. Non enim pertinet—huiusmodi culpam
“vindicare, nisi ad singulos episcopos—aut, si &
“episcopi in hoc negligentes fuerint, ad archiepif-
“copum & primatem—precor igitur—& consulo,—
“ne vos contra ecclesiasticam consuetudinem in tam
“grave peccatum mittatis—aleo enim vobis, quòd
“valde timere debetis, quòd pericula taliter accepta—
“non adjuvabunt terrena negotia; ut taceam, quan-
“tum noceat animæ, quantum postea perturbabit.”
The king, after such an increpation, was cautious
of interfering with ecclesiastical discipline. Fresh
synods threw out more invectives and fiercer menaces
against the concubinage, under which term was in-
cluded the marriage of clerks; but the evil was still
unremoved. Thus matters stood before the opening
of the council of *London* in 1129, whose impolitic
management is here censured by Dr. *Sax fi*.

called,

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called, decreed severe penalties upon those who should be guilty of breaking it, entreating the king to see the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwise than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evasion to his own advantage: for, exacting fines of the delinquent priests, he suffered them to keep their concubines without further disturbance. A very unaccountable step in so wise a body for their own concerns, as the clergy of those times is looked upon to have been; and although perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may serve as a lesson to all assemblies, never to trust the execution of a law in the hands of those who will find it more to their interests to see it broken than observed P.

1132.

P The king might now, it seems, animadvert upon licentious and married priests without fear of a primate's reprimand; the Church itself had resigned this branch of her discipline to him: but he was far from answering the warm expectations of the advocates for celibacy. Fines indeed he exacted from such as trespassed against the canons: this was a happy expedient for replenishing his coffers; but when those fines had been paid by clerks under censure, he connived at their retaining *wives*, and indulged them the protection of the civil power. For we must not say, with *Alfred* and other Jesuits, that he connived at their keeping trumpets, notwithstanding that the term *secariæ*, used by *Matthew Paris*, may seem to favour such reproach.

1132. The empress *Mauje* was now happily delivered of a son, who was afterwards king of *England* by the name of *Henry* the Second. and the king, calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her issue, which in the compass of three years they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think it may deserve a place in this history, to mention the last scene of duke *Robert's* life, who, either through the poorness or greatness of spirit, having outlived the loss of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eye-sight, and his only son, was at last forced to sink under the load of eighty years, and must be allowed for the greatest example either of insensibility or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a sovereign or private person. He was a

Uxores is the appellation expressly given to those spared and pitied domesticks by *Henry Huntingdon*, *Howeden*, the *Annals of Mangan* and of *Waverley*, and the *Chronicon of Heningsford*. [See *Colliv*, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 322.] If it was an oversight in the clergy to intrust the king with the execution of their laws against concubinage, *Henry* however acted on this occasion the good politician, by dispensing with those who could not bear a separation from their wives. It was not his business to extinguish connubial love, or destroy family connexions in that order. A married clergy, he might reasonably imagine, would never become slaves to *Rome*, nor conspire with any pope to subvert the civil constitution.

prince

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prince hardly equalled by any in his time, for valour, conduct, and courtesy; but his ruin began from the easiness of his nature, which whoever knew how to manage, were sure to be refused nothing they could ask. By such profusion, he was reduced to those unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a pension, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his subjects; neither do I think any virtue so little commendable in a sovereign as that of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can supply; where it passes those bounds, his subjects must all be oppressed, to shew his bounty to a few flatterers; or he must sell his towns, or basely renounce his rights, by becoming pensioner to some powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which we have lived to see performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of *Normandy* to the king's obedience, he found it necessary for his affairs to spend in that duchy some part of his time almost every year, and a little before the death of *Robert* he made his last voyage there. It was observable in this prince, that, having some years past very narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage from *Normandy* into *England*, the sense of his danger had made very deep impressions on his mind, which he discovered by a great reformation in his life, by redressing several grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and, to shew the steadiness of his resolutions, he kept them to the last, making

king a progress through most parts of *Normandy*, treating his subjects in all places with great familiarity and kindness, granting their petitions, easing their taxes, and, in a word, giving all possible marks of a religious, wise, and gracious prince.

Returning to *St. Denys le Forment* from his progress a little indisposed, he there fell into a fever upon a surfeit upon lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to *England*, and buried at *Reading* in the abbey-church himself had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; those authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thousands of other men; neither have they recorded any of those personal circumstances or passages, which only can discover such qualities of the mind as most distinguish one man from another. These defects may perhaps appear in the stories of many succeeding kings; which makes me hope I shall not be altogether blamed for sometimes disappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wish to be the most exact.

As to his person, he is described to be of middle stature; his body strong set and fleshy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleasant, especially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, especially

especially that circumstance of long artificial hair, which he forbade upon severe penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. These were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and lust; of which the first is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the second by his treatment of duke *Robert*; and the last was notorious. But the proof of his virtues doth not depend on single instances, manifesting themselves through the whole course of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune, that prudence, justice, or valour, could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had passed thirty years, having learned, in his private life, to struggle with hardships, whereof he had his share, from the capriciousness and injustice of both his brothers; and by observing their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himself, being steady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both seemed chiefly to want. This likewise made him so very tenacious as he was observed to be in his love and hatred. He was a strict observer of justice; which he seems never to have violated, but in that particular case, which political casuists are pleased to dispense with, where the dispute is about a crown. In that he ¶ * * * * *

¶ Here the sentence breaks off short, and is left unfinished.

Consider him as a private man, he was perhaps the most accomplished person of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great share of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the sense he had of this last perfection in himself, that put him so often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of most figure as well as use.

The

The REIGN of STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are supposed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, must be upheld by a long uninterrupted succession; otherwise it quickly loses opinion, upon which the strength of it, although not the justice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal descent, there is little security in a good title (though confirmed by promises and oaths), where the lawful heir is absent, and a popular aspiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may pass for a maxim, if any consequences drawn from history can pretend to be called so, having been verified successively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whose reign we are now writing. Neither can this observation be justly controuled by any instances brought of future princes, who, being absent at their predecessor's death, have peaceably succeeded, the circumstances being very different in every case, either by the weakness or injustice

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Of pretenders, or else by the long establishment of lineal succession.

1135. *Stephen* earl of *Boulogne*, whose descent hath been already shewn in the foregoing reign, was the second of three brothers, whereof the eldest was *Theobald* earl of *Blais*, a sovereign prince, and *Henry* the youngest was bishop of *Winchester*, and pope's legate in *England*. At the time of king *Henry's* death, his daughter the empress was with her husband the earl of *Anjou*, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for sudden enterprizes: but earl *Stephen*, who had attended the king in his last expedition, made so great dispatch for *England*^r, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a successor. When the lords were assembled, the legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great number to his brother's interests; and the earl, by promising with what success the like had been used by his two last predecessors, was very liberal of his promises, to amend the laws, support the church, and redress grievances: for all which the bishop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was *Stephen* elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another.

^r *Stephen* was at *Boulogne* when he received the news of *Henry's* death. The lords present with the king at the time of his decease, were the earls of *Gloucester*, *Surry*, and *Lincoln*; the counts of *Montagne* and *Meulan*, and some governors of castles.

The

The motives whereby the nobility was swayed to proceed after this manner were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the security whereof, they thought a king elected without other title would be readier to enter into any obligations, and, being held in constant dependance, would be less tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full security by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people: they were told, "It was an indignity for so noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promised to marry his daughter within the realm, and by consent of parliament, neither of which was observed:" and lastly, *Hugh Bigot*, steward to king *Henry*, took a voluntary oath, before the archbishop of *Canterbury*, "that his master, in his last sickness, had, upon some displeasure, disinherited his daughter."

He received the crown with one great advantage that could best enable him to preserve it: this was the possession of his uncle's treasures, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious sum in those days; by the help of which, without ever raising one tax upon the people, he de-

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ended an unjust title against the lawful heir during a perpetual contest of almost twenty years.

In order to defend himself against any sudden invasion, which he had cause enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build castles upon their lands, which proved a very mistaken piece of politicks, although grounded upon some appearance of reason. The king supposed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country without reducing every castle in his way, which must be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and secure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undisputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his subjects: but numerous castles are ill defenders of an usurpation, being the common retreat of malecontents, where they can fly with security, and discover their affections as they please: by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may still preserve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait supplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is master of any castles, can he ever be at mercy by any sudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himself. These, and many other effects of so pernicious a counsel, the king found through the whole course of his reign; which was entirely spent in sieges, revolts, surprizes, and surrenders, with very few battles, but no decisive

cative action: a period of much misery and confusion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or useful for the instruction of posterity.

1136. The first considerable enemy that appeared against him was *David* king of *Scots*, who, having taken the oath of fealty to *Maude* and her issue, being further engaged by the ties of blood, and stirred up through the persuasions of several *English* nobles, began to take up arms in her cause; and, invading the Northern parts, took *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*; but upon the king's speedy approach with his forces, a peace was presently made, and the towns restored. However, the *Scottish* prince would by no means renounce his fidelity to the empress, by paying homage to *Stephen*; so that an expedient was found, to have it performed by his eldest son: in consideration of which the king gave, or rather restored, to him the earldom of *Huntington*.

Upon his return to *London* from this expedition, he happened to fall sick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was with great industry and artifice dispersed by his enemies, which quickly discovered the ill inclination of several lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made use of it for an occasion or pretext to fortify their castles, which they refused to surrender to the king himself; but *Stephen* was resolved, as he said, to convince them that he was alive and well; for, coming against them before he was expected, he re-

covered *Exeter*, *Norwich*^s, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of so much valour and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and state, after a compliance with all conditions they could impose on him, and in an age when so little regard was had to the lineal descent, lastly confirmed by the pope himself, should be soon deserted and opposed by those very persons who had been the most instrumental to promote him. But, beside his defective title, and the undistinguished liberty of building castles, there were three circumstances which very much contributed to those perpetual revolts of the nobles against him: first, that, upon his coming to the crown, he was very liberal in distributing lands and honours to several young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to strengthen his party against the empress: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too fast upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to dismiss the rest with promises and excuses, who, either out of envy or discontent, or else to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the first occasion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced several castles and towns

^s *Hugh Bigot* had seized *Norwich* castle.

which

which had given the first example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the least punishment on the authors; which unseasonable mercy, that in another prince and another age would have been called greatness of spirit, passed in him for pusillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of those times, to have been the cause of many succeeding revolts. The third circumstance was of a different kind: for, observing how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recall or disown the promises he had made; and to repulse petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the earl of *Anjou*, who was not in a condition to assert his wife's title to *England*, hearing *Stephen* was employed at home, entered *Normandy* with small force, and found it no difficult matter to seize several towns. The *Normans*, in the present distraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at last sent an invitation to *Theobald* earl of *Elis*, king *Stephen's* eldest brother, to accept their dukedom, upon the condition of protecting them from the present insults of the earl of *Anjou*. But, before this matter could come to an issue, *Stephen*, who, upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a short interval of quiet from his *English* subjects, arrived with unexpected speed

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in *Normandy*; where *Geoffry* of *Anjou* took
 stood before him, and the whole^t duchy came
 over to his obedience; for the further settle-
 ment whereof, he made peace with the king
 of *France*; constituted his son *Eustace* duke
 of *Normandy*; and made him swear fealty to
 that prince, and do him homage. His bro-
 ther *Theobald*, who began to expostulate upon
 this disappointment, he pacified with a pen-
 sion of two thousand marks[†]: and even the
 earl of *Anjou* himself, who, in right of his
 wife, made demands of *Stephen* for the king-
 dom of *England*, finding he was no equal
 match at present, was persuaded to become
 his pensioner for five thousand more[‡].

Stephen, upon his return to *England*, met
 with an account of new troubles from the
 North; for the king of *Scots*, under pretence
 of observing his oath of fealty to the empress,
 infested the borders, and, frequently making
 cruel inroads, plundered and laid waste all
 before him.

1138. In order to revenge this base and
 perfidious treatment, the king, in his march
 northward, sat down before *Bedford*, and
 took it after a siege of twenty days. This

[†] The mark of *Normandy* is to be understood
 here. Such a pension in that age was equivalent
 to one of 31,000 *l.* sterling in the present.

[‡] Five thousand marks of silver coin was, in
 this reign, of the same value as the sum of 77,500 *l.*
 modern currency is now. Here again the *Nor-*
manic Mark seems to be used.

town was part of the earldom of *Huntington*, given by *Stephen* in the late peace to the eldest son of the *Scottish* king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garrison of *Scotts*. Upon intelligence of this surrender, king *David*, overcome with fury, entered *Northumberland*, where, letting loose the rage of his soldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in so execrable a manner as would scarce be credible, if it were not attested by almost the universal consent of writers: they ript up women with child, drew out the infants, and tossed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered priests before the altars; then, cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their stead put on the heads of those they had murdered: with many other instances of monstrous barbarity too foul to relate: but, cruelty being usually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince, upon the approach of king *Stephen*, fled into places of security. The king of *England*, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, destroying with fire and sword all the southern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impressions into the heart of *Scotland*, if he had not been suddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his absence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert

Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, came into *England* some time after the advancement of *Stephen* to the crown; and, yielding to the necessity of the time, took the oath of fealty, upon the same condition used by the other nobles, to be of force so long as the king should keep his faith with him, and preserve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the interests of the empress his sister, and moved by the persuasions of several religious men, he had, with great secrecy and application, so far practised upon the levity or discontents of several lords, as to gain them to his party: for the king had, of late, very much alienated the nobles against him; first, by seizing several of their persons, and dispossessing them of their lands; and, secondly, by taking into his favour *William D'Ypres*, a *Flemish* commander of noble birth, but banished by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the king employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him earl of *Kent*, to the great envy and displeasure of his *English* subjects. The earl of *Gloucester*, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things necessary for an insurrection, it was agreed among them, that, while the king was engaged against the *Scots*, each of them should secure what towns and castles they could, and openly declare for the empress. Accordingly earl *Robert* suddenly fortified himself in *Bristol*; the rest followed his example; *Hereford*, *Shrewsbury*, *Ludlow*, *Doncaster*.

Dover^w, and many other places, were seized by several lords; and the defection grew so formidable, that the king, to his great grief, was forced to leave his *Scottish* expedition unfinished, and return with all possible speed to suppress the rebellion begun by his subjects: having first left the care of the North to *Thurstan* archbishop of *York*; with orders carefully to observe the motions of the *Scots*.

Whilst the king was employed in the South in reducing his discontented lords and their castles to his obedience, *David*, presuming upon the distance between them, re-entered *England* with more numerous forces, and greater designs, than before: for, without losing more time than what was necessary to pillage and destroy the country as he marched, he resolved to besiege *York*, which, if he could force it to surrender, would serve as a convenient frontier against the *English*. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he sat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time archbishop *Thurston*, having already summoned the nobles and gentry of the shire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful persuasions, in-

^w *Robert* earl of *Gloucester* had been entrusted by *Stephen* with the custody of *Dover* castle: but *Robert* lying now under heavy suspicion, the king, resolved to secure that important fortress by force, sent *Matilda* his queen to lay siege to it; to whom, after some defence, *Wacelin*, the deputy-governor, surrendered it.

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cited them to defend their country against a treacherous, bloody, and restless enemy: so that, before the king of *Scotland* could make any progress in the siege, the whole power of the North was united against him, under the earl of *Albemarle* and several other nobles. Archbishop *Thurston*, happening to fall sick, could not go in person to the army, but sent the bishop of *Durham* in his stead; by whose encouragements the *English*, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the *Scots*, who, sending out a party of horse to secure the rising ground, were immediately attacked by the *English*, and, after a sharp dispute, entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle the king of *Scots*, and his son *Henry* earl of *Huntington*, gave many proofs of great personal valour. The young prince fell with such fierceness upon a body of the *English*, that he utterly broke and dispersed them; and was pursuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, "It was the head of the *Scottish* king;" which being heard and believed on both sides, the *English*, who had lately fled, rallied again, assaulting their enemies with new vigour; the *Scots*, on the other side, discouraged by the supposed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the king and his son used all endeavours to stop their flight, and made several brave stands against the enemy; but the greatest part of their army being fled, and themselves

themselves almost encompassed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their escape.

The lots on the *English* side was inconsiderable; but of *Scots*, by general consent of writers, ten thousand were slain. And thus ended the war of the Standard, as it was usually called by the authors of that age, because the *English*, upon a certain engine, raised the mast of a ship, on the top whereof, in a silver box, they put the consecrated wafer, and fastened the standards of St. *Peter* and other saints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the presence of God; and served likewise for a mark where to re-assemble when they should happen to be dispersed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time the king was equally successful against his rebellious lords at home, having taken most of their castles and strong holds; and the earl of *Gloucester* himself, no longer able to make any resistance, withdrew into *Normandy*, to concert new measures with the empress his sister. Thus the king had leisure and opportunity for another expedition into *Scotland*, to pursue and improve his victory, where he met with no opposition: however, he was at length persuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace; and *David* delivered up to him his eldest son *Henry*, as hostage for performance of articles between them.

The king, in his return homeward, laid siege to *Ludlow castle*, which had not been reduced

reduced with the rest: here prince *Henry of Scotland*, boiling with youth and valour, and exposing his person upon all occasions, was lifted from his horse by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoisted up into the castle, if the king had not immediately flown to his assistance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he soon compelled to surrender the castle.

1140. *Stephen*, having thus subdued his inveterate enemies the *Scots*, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little ease. But he was destined to the possession of a crown with perpetual disturbance; for he was hardly returned from his Northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the empress, accompanied by her brother the earl of *Gloucester*, was preparing to come for *England*, in order to dispute her title to the kingdom. The king, who knew by experience what a powerful party she already had to espouse her interests, very reasonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when she appeared in person to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building castles, which were now like to prove so many places of security for his enemies, and fortifications against himself; for he knew not whom to trust, vehemently suspecting his nobles ever since their last revolt. He therefore cast about for some artifice to get into his hands as many
of

of their castles, as he could: in the strength and magnificence of which kind of structures the bishops had far outdone the rest, and were, upon that as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extremely jealous of the church's increasing power, and glad upon all occasions to see the prelates humbled. The king, therefore, having formed his project, resolved to make trial where he could perceive least danger in the consequences. At a parliament or assembly of nobles at *Oxford*, it was contrived to raise a quarrel between the servants of some bishops and those of *Alan* count of *Dinan* in *Bretagne*, upon a contention of rooms in their inns. *Stephen* took hold of this advantage, sent for the bishops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their castles, adding threats of imprisonment if they dared to disobey. Those whom the king chiefly suspected, or rather who had built the most and strongest castles, were *Roger* bishop of *Salisbury*, with his nephew and natural son the bishops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, whom the king, by many circumstances of rigour, compelled to surrender, going himself in person to seize *The Devoizes**, then esteemed the noblest structure of *Europe*, and built by the fore-

* According to *Ordericus Vitalis* this castle was defended by *Alaude* of *Ransbury*, the bishop's concubine. *Episcopi pelles pueri palem munitionem servabat.*

mentioned

mentioned bishop *Roger*, whose treasure, to the value of forty thousand marks^y, there likewise deposited, fell, at the same time, into the king's hand, which in a few days broke the bishop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digression, to say something of the fortunes of this prelate, who, from the lowest beginnings, came to be, without dispute, the greatest churchman of any subject in his age. It happened that the late king *Henry*, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in *Normandy*, wanted a priest to say mass before him and his train, when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his service, and performed it with so much dexterity and speed, that the soldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their master, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men: but it seems he had other talents; for, having gotten into the prince's service, he soon discovered great application and address, much order and oeconomy in the management of his master's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After *Henry's* advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence: was made bishop of

^y This prelate's treasure is doubtless computed by the smaller or *Saxon* mark; the use of which still prevailed in *England*: and even thus computed, it amounts to a vast sum, equal to about 116,350*l.* of modern money.

Salisbury.

Salisbury, chancellor of *England*, employed in all his most weighty affairs, and usually left vicegerent of the realm while the king was absent in *Normandy*. He was among the first that swore fealty to *Maude* and her issue; and among the first that revolted from her to *Stephen*, offering such reasons in council for letting her aside, as, by the credit and opinion of his wisdom, were very prevalent. But the king, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the bishop fell a sacrifice in his old age to those treasures he had been so long heaping up for its support. A just reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raised him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been so very instrumental to raise!

But *Henry* bishop of *Winchester*, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at *Winchester*; where the king being summoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cause with much learning; and the archbishop of *Rouen*, coming to the council, declared his opinion, "That although the canons did not allow the bishops to possess castles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the king." This opinion *Stephen* followed very steadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother used all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of bishops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds
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an implacable hatred to the king, in a very opportune juncture for the interests of *Maude*, who, about this time, landed at *Portsmouth*, with her brother *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but of one hundred and forty knights²; for she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to *Arundel*, and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late king; while earl *Robert*, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of *Gloucester*, in order to raise forces for the empress, where the townsmen turned out the king's garisons as soon as they heard of his approach.

King *Stephen* was not surprized at the news of the empress's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence; for, hastening down to *Arundel* with a sufficient strength, he laid siege to the castle, in hopes, by securing her person, to put a speedy end to the war.

But there wanted not some very near about the king, who, favouring the party of *Maude*,

² In these times none served on horseback but gentlemen or knights, in right of their fiefs, or their representatives, called *Men at Arms*; and each of these was attended by at least two servants or retainers mounted and armed,

had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress; but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the king took against his own opinion; the empress fled out of *Arundel* by night; and, after frequent shifting her flag, through several towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixed herself at last at *Lincoln*; where, having all things provided necessary for her defence, she resolved to continue, and expected a general revolt of the *English* to her side, on the decision of war between the king and her brother.

1141. But *Stephen*, who had pursued the empress from place to place, hearing she had shut herself up in *Lincoln*, resolved to give her no rest; and, to help on his design, it fell out that the citizens, in hatred to the earl of *Chester*, who commanded there for the empress, sent a private invitation to the king, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and possessed himself of the town; but *Maud* and the earl made their escape a few days before. However, many great persons of *Maud*'s party remained prisoners to the king, and among the rest the earl of *Chester*'s wife, who was daughter to the earl of *Gloucester*. These two earls, resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near *Lincoln*, where they

found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the king, both sides made ready to engage. The king, having disposed his cavalry on each wing, placed himself at the head of his foot, in whom he reposed much confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; those whom king *Stephen* had banished were placed in the middle, the earl of *Chester* led the van, and the earl of *Gloucester* commanded the rear. The battle was fought at first with equal advantage, and great obstinacy on both sides: at length the right wing of the king's horse, pressed by the earl of *Chester*, galloped away, not without suspicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The king beheld their flight, and, encouraging those about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for some time bravely seconded by his foot, did great execution. At length, overpowered by numbers, his men began to disperse, and *Stephen* was left almost alone with his sword in his hand, wherewith he opposed his person against a whole victorious army, nor durst any be so hardy to approach him; the sword breaking, a citizen of *Lincoln* put into his hands a *Danish* battle-axe^a, with which he struck to the ground the earl of *Chester*^b, who presumed to come within his

^a *Sim. Dunelmensis.*

^b The earl of *Chester* (*Randolph de Gerrouin*) lived nevertheless to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poison.

reach. But this weapon likewise flying in pieces with the force of those furious blows he dealt on all sides, a bold knight of the empress's party, named *William de Keynes*, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, "I have got the king." Then the rest ran in, and he was taken prisoner^c.

The king, being thus secured, was presented to the empress, then at *Gloucester*, and by her orders conveyed to *Bristol*, where he continued in strict custody nine months, although with honourable treatment for some time, until, either upon endeavouring to make his escape, or in malice to the *Londoners*, who had a great affection for their king, he was, by express command from the empress, laid in irons, and used with other circumstances of severity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almost the whole kingdom; and the earl of *Anjou*, husband to the empress, upon the fame of the king's defeat and imprisonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole duchy of *Normandy* to his obedience.

The legate himself, although brother to king *Stephen*, received her at *Winchester* with great solemnity, accepted her oath for governing with justice, redressing grievances, and supporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her; then, in an assembly of bishops and clergy convoked for the purpose, he displayed the misdeeds of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empress to be queen; to which they una-

^c *Gervas.*

nimously agreed. To compleat all, he prevailed by his credit with the *Londoners*, who stood out the last of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where she arrived at length in great pomp, and with general satisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princess, to possess many weaknesses that are charged to the sex, and very few of its commendable qualities: she was now in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom, except the county of *Kent*, where *William D'Ypres* pretended to keep up a small party for the king; when, by her pride, wilfulness, indiscretion, and a disobliging behaviour, she soon turned the hearts of all men against her, and in a short time lost the fruits of that victory and success which had been so hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The first occasion she took to discover the perverseness of her nature was in the treatment of *Maude*, the wife of king *Stephen*, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her sex, who, coming to the empress an humble suitor in behalf of her husband, offered, as a price of his liberty, "That he should resign all pretensions to the crown, and pass the rest of his life in exile, or in a convent:" but this request was rejected with scorn and reproaches; and the queen, finding all entreaties to no purpose, writ to her son *Eustace*, to let him understand the ill success of her negotiation; that no relief was to be otherwise hoped for than by arms; and therefore advised him to raise

raise immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miscarriage was towards the *Londoners*, who presented her a petition for redressing certain rigorous laws of her father, and restoring those of *Edward the Confessor*. The empress put them off for a time with excuses, but at last discovered some displeasure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been persuaded to receive her against their inclinations, which stood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreasonable refusal of their just demands, and entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. But she had timely notice of their design, and, leaving the city by night in disguise, fled to *Oxford*.

A third false step the empress made^d, was in refusing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he desired in the behalf of *Eustace*, the king's son, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promises to this prelate, that she would be directed in all things by his advice: and to be refused upon his first application a small favour for his own nephew, stung him to the quick; however, he governed his resentments a while, but began at the same time to resume his affection for his brother. These thoughts were cultivated with great address by queen *Maud*, who prevailed at last so far upon the legate, that private measures were agreed between them for restoring

^d *William of Malmshury.*

Stephen to his liberty and crown. The emperor took leave of the empress, upon some plausible pretence, and retired to *Winchester*, where he gave directions for supplying with men and provisions several strong castles he had built in his diocese, while the queen with her son *Edmund* prevailed with the *Londoners* and men of *Kent* to rise in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*.

In the mean time the empress began to be sensible of the errors she had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendship of the legate, or take him prisoner, marched with her army to *Winchester*, where being received and lodged in the castle, she sent immediately for the legate, spoke much in excuse of what was past, and used all end and means to regain him to her interests. Bishop *Henry*, on the other side, avoided her with cautious answers, and kept her in suspense for some days; but secretly at the same time to the king's army, advising them to advance with all possible speed: which was executed with so much diligence, that the empress and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were pursued by the enemy to close in the rear, that the empress had hardly time, by counterfeiting herself dead, to make her escape; in which posture she was carried as a corpse to *Gloucester*; but the earl her brother, while he made what opposition he could, with design to stop her pur-
suer.

last, was himself taken prisoner, with great slaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn presented to queen *Maude*, and by her command sent to *Rockester* to be treated in the same manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and fortune seemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it usually happens, private animosities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miserable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our *English* story give melancholy descriptions, not to be repeated in this history, since the usual effects of civil war are obvious to conceive, and sometimes as well as useless to relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empress was grounded upon a cause that in its own nature little concerned the interests of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for transacting a peace, to which there appeared an universal disposition. Several expedients were proposed; but earl *Robert* would consent upon no other terms than the deposing of *Stephen*, and immediate delivery of the crown to his sister. These debates lasted for some months, until the two prisoners, weary of their long constraint, by mutual consent were exchanged for each other, and all thought of agreement laid aside.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, hastened to *London*, to get supplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found
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that his brother of *Winchester* had, in a council of bishops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empress, and persuaded the assembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuse for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced several instances wherein she had broken the oath she took when he received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; and said, he had received information that she had a design upon his life ^c.

It must be confessed, that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the subject to any reasonable degree of obedience: and the warmest advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from those examples here produced, that it is very possible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter; that a monarch may be too much limited, and a subject too little; whereof the consequences have been fully as pernicious for the time, as the worst that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps so lasting or so hard to be remedied; since all the miseries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifestly owing to that continual violation of such oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpose by ambitious men to be broken at pleasure, without the least apprehension of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual slavish dependence.

^c *William of Malmesbury.*

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The earl of *Gloucester*, soon after his release, went over into *Normandy*, where he found the earl of *Anjou* employed in completing the conquest of that duchy; there he delivered him the sons of several *English* noblemen, to be kept as hostages for their fathers' fidelity to the empress, and used many arguments for persuading him to come over in person with an army to her assistance: but *Geoffrey* excused himself, by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of exposing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his absence. However, he lent the earl of *Gloucester* a supply of four hundred men, and sent along with him his eldest son *Henry*, to comfort his mother, and be shewn to the people.

During the short absence of the earl of *Gloucester*, the empress was closely besieged in *Oxford* by the king; and provisions beginning to fail, she was in cruel apprehensions of falling into his hands. This gave her occasion to put in practice the only talent wherein she seemed to excel, which was that of contriving some little shift or expedient to secure her person upon any sudden emergency. A long season of frost had made the *Thames* passable upon the ice, and much snow lay on the ground; *Maude* with some few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being discovered from the king's camp, crossed the river at midnight on foot, and traveling all night, got safe to *Wallingford castle*, where her brother and young son *Henry*, newly returned from *France*, arrived soon after, to her great satisfaction;

faction: but *Oxford* immediately upon the news of her flight surrendered to the king.

However, this disgrace was fully compensated soon after by another of the same kind, which happened to king *Stephen*: for whilst he and his brother of *Winchester* were fortifying a nunnery at *Wilton*, to bridle his enemies at *Salisbury*, who very much harassed those parts by their frequent excursions, the earl of *Gloucester*, who watched all opportunities, came unawares with a strong body of men, and set fire on the nunnery while the king himself was in it. *Stephen*, upon the sudden surprize of the thing, wholly lost or forgot his usual courage, and fled shamefully away, leaving his soldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the rest of the war, although it lasted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties, being pretty equal, and both sufficiently tired with so long a contention, wanted vigour and spirit to make a thorough conquest; and only endeavoured to keep what they had, or whether the multitude of strong castles, whose number daily increased, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almost in balance; let the cause be what it will, the whole time passed in mutual sieges, surprizes, revolts, surrenders of fortified places, without any decisive action, or other event of importance to be related: by which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of spoil, robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold

hold their castles for the king or the empress, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual state of war against their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were banished, no veneration left for sacred persons or things; in short, no law, truth, or religion among men, but a scene of universal misery, attended with all the consequences of an embroiled and distracted state.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young *Henry*, now growing towards a man, was sent for to *France*, by a message from his father, who was desirous to see him; but left a considerable party in *England*, to adhere to his interests; and in a short time after (as some write) the empress herself, grown weary of contending any longer in a cause where she had met with nothing but misfortune of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewise, and retired to her husband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befel *Stephen*; for, before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, than whom there have been few private persons known in the world that deserve a fairer place and character in the registers of time, for his inviolable faith, disinterested friendship, indefatigable zeal, and firm constancy to the cause he espoused, and unparalleled generosity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his sister in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown upon her head; and when she lost it by her folly and perverseness, refused the greatest offers from a

victorious enemy, who had him in his power; and chose to continue a prisoner, rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretensions: he bore up her sinking title in spite of her own frequent miscarriages, and at last died in her cause by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her service. An example fit to be shewn the world, although few perhaps are like to follow it; but however, a small tribute of praise, justly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the absence of the empress and her son in *France*, added very little to the quiet or security of the king. For the earl of *Gloucester*, suspecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great sagacity, delivered their sons to the earl of *Anjou*, to be kept as pledges for their fathers fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was still kept up against *Stephen*, too strong to be suddenly broken. Besides, he had, by an unusual strain of his conduct, lately lost much good-will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the person of the earl of *Chester*, a principal adherent of the empress. This nobleman, of great power and possessions, had newly reconciled himself to *Stephen*, and came to his court at *Northampton*, where, against all laws of hospitality, as well as common faith and justice, he was committed to prison, and forced to buy his liberty with the surrender of *Lincoln*, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs

Affairs continued in this turbulent posture about two years; the nobles neither trusting the king nor each other. The number of castles still encreased; which every man who had any possessions was forced to build, or else become a prey to his powerful 1149 neighbours. This was thought a convenient juncture, by the empress and her friends, for sending young prince *Henry* to try his fortune in *England*, where he landed at the head of a considerable number of horse and foot, although he was then but sixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to *Carlisle*, where he met his cousin *David* king of *Scots*, by whom he was made knight, after the usual custom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of *England*, who had soon intelligence of *Henry's* landing and motion, marched down to secure *York*, against which he expected the first attempt of his enemy was designed. But, whatever the cause might be (wherein the writers of those ages are silent or unsatisfactory), both armies remained at that secure distance for three months; after which, 1150 *Henry* returned back to *Normandy*, leaving the kingdom in the state of confusion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince *Henry Fitzempress* now began to advance by great and sudden steps; whereof it will be no digression to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as because they concern the immediate successor to the crown.

22: HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

1151. Prince *Henry's* voyage to *France* was soon followed by the death of his father *Geoffrey* earl of *Anjou*, whereby the son
1152 became possessed of that earldom, together with the duchy of *Normandy*; but in a short time after he very much enlarged his dominions by a marriage, in which he consulted his reputation less than his advantage. For *Louis the Young*, king of *France*, was lately divorced from his wife *Eleanor*, who, as the *French* writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her husband, and had long desired such a separation. Other authors give her not so fair a character: but, whatever might be the real cause, the pretext was consanguinity in the fourth degree^h. *Henry* was content to accept

^h Whether the pretext were affinity or consanguinity, is not quite agreed among historians: but it seems clear, that the real cause of the separation was the jealousy of the king, and his impatience under the scandal of her amours. The proceedings of a council summoned at *Beaugenci*, in the year 1151, for the purpose of this divorce, are related by *Mr. Bayle*, who is never more prolix than when he meets with ladies like *Eleanor*, renowned for beauty, learning, and gallantry. He gives us the harangue of the bishop of *Langres* in that assembly; who took the liberty of inveighing bitterly against the lewdness of the queen. The archbishop of *Beauvais*, a more decent man, was for hushing that charge, and proposed another more honourable motive for separation, by shewing that the king and queen were related in a degree wherein marriage is unlawful. The hint was taken; the proceedings changed;

accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right¹ became duke of *Aquitain*, and earl of *Poitou*, very considerable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of *France* and *England* began to apprehend much danger from the sudden greatness of a young ambitious prince; and their interests were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke *Henry* was now ready to sail for *England*, in a condition to assert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of *France*, in conjunction with *Eustace*, king *Stephen's* son, and *Geoffry*, the duke's own brother, suddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the castle of *Neumarché* by storm, and laid siege to that of *Angers*. The duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aside his thoughts of *England*, and, marching boldly towards the enemy, resolved to relieve the besieged; but, finding they had already taken the castle, he thought it best to change; and on this ground a marriage, which for fourteen years had been unquestioned, was now pronounced void. The queen, being told what turn things had taken, swooned, fell from her chair, continued above two hours speechless: at length, coming to herself, and turning her bright and blue eyes on the company present, she said, &c. See *Bayle's Dict.* article *LOUIS VII.*

¹ This *Eleanor* was daughter and heiress of *William* the last duke of *Aquitain* and earl *Poitou*. She made afterwards a great figure in *England*; raised rebellion against the king her husband; suffered long imprisonment; but survived her troubles, her husband, and her eldest son (*Richard I.*), dying in the year 1203.

make a diversion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, where he left all to the mercy of his soldiers, surprized and burnt several castles, and made great devastations wherever he came. This proceeding answered the end for which it was designed; the king of *France* thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of some religious men, were soon agreed. The duke, after some time spent in settling his affairs, and preparing all things necessary for his intended expedition, set sail for *England*, where he landed ^k the same year in the depth of winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot.

Some time before *Henry* landed, the king had conceived a project to disappoint his designs, by confirming the crown upon himself and his own posterity^l. He sent for the archbishop of *Canterbury*, with several other prelates, and proposed that his son *Eustace* should be crowned king with all the usual solemnity: but the bishops absolutely refused to perform the office, by express orders from the pope, who was an enemy to *Stephen*, partly upon account of his unjust or declining cause, but chiefly for his strict alliance with the king

^k The place where he landed is not mentioned by our historians. It was probably in the west of *England*, as the first garrison town he attacked was *Salisbury*.

^l *Gervas, Hen. Huntingdon.*

of *France*, who was then engaged in a quarrel against that see, upon a very tender point, relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his son were both enraged at the bishops refusal, and kept them prisoners in the chamber where they assembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and some other circumstances of rigour; but all to no purpose, so that he was at length forced to desist. But the archbishop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the son during the life and reign of the father, which appears so absurd in speculation, was actually performed in the succeeding reign, and seems to have been taken up by those two princes of *French* birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country ^m, where it was usual for kings grown old and infirm, or swayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldest son into a share of the administration, with the title of king; a custom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of *Rome*, who adopted their *Cæsars* after the like manner.

1153. The king was employed in his usual exercise of besieging castles, when the news was brought of *Henry's* arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly against the duke, who was then set down before *Malmesbury*. But *Stephen* forced him to raise the siege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although his army was

^m *Mezeray*.

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much increased by continual revolts, thought it best to gain time, being still in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himself strongly entrenched. There is some difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a short time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both sides, either dreading the consequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for some days in order to a peace; which was violently opposed by *Eustace*, the king's son, a youth of great spirit and courage, because he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his interests; and therefore, finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and, attended by some followers, endeavoured to satiate his fury, by destroying the country in his march: but in a few days, as he sat at dinner in a castle of his own, he fell suddenly dead, either through grief, madness, or poison.

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with fresh vigour; but the king was wholly dispirited upon this fatal accident, and now first began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had lost a son whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewise lost the alliance of the *French* king, to whose sister the young prince was married. He had indeed another son left, but little esteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded by his father. He was now,
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in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forsaken by his friends, who, since the death of *Eustace*, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his posterity, he thought it high time to seek repose for his person. The nobles soon observed this disposition in their king, which was so agreeable to their own; therefore, by general consent, *Theobald* archbishop of *Canterbury* was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were soon agreed; an assembly of lords was convened at *Winchester*, where the king received the duke with great marks of courtesy and kindness. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expressed the terms of agreement. But I shall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowledged *Henry* for lawful successor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and *Henry* himself, with his party, paid homage to *Stephen*. There is likewise a reservation for *William*, the king's son, of all the honours possessed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewise acknowledges the obedience of his subjects to be no longer due to him than he shall observe the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of these articles, the archbishops and bishops were appointed guarantees. There were some other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a restitution, to the right owners, of those lands and possessions, which had been usurped in the

time of the troubles; that all castles built during the war should be razed to the ground, which are said to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church should be preserved; with other matters of less moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbishop *Theobald*, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the universal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troublesome war: men began to have the prospect of a long peace; nor was it easy to foresee what could possibly arise to disturb it; when discovery was made, by accident, of a most horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with success, would have once more set the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to *London*, to be shewn to the people as the undoubted successor to the crown; and having made a progress together through some other parts of the kingdom, they came to *Canterbury*; where *Henry* received private notice of a design upon his life. It hath been already observed, that the king employed in his wars a body of *Flemings*, to the great discontent of his own subjects, with whom they were very ungracious. These foreigners were much discontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become useless and burthensome to the present king, and hateful to the successor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practise upon the levity and ambition of *William* the king's son. They urged

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the indignity he had received, in being deprived of his birth-right; offered to support his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and, as an earnest of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment, by dispatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was easily wrought upon to be at the head of this conspiracy; time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, *William* broke his leg by a fall from his horse; and the conspirators, wanting their leader, immediately dispersed. This disappointment and delay, as it usually happens among conspirators, were soon followed by a discovery of the whole plot, whereby the duke, with great discretion, made no other use than to consult his own safety; therefore, without any shew of suspicion or displeasure, he took leave of the king, and returned to *Normandy*.

1154. *Stephen* lived not above a year to share the happiness of this peace with his people, in which time he made a progress through most parts of the kingdom; where he gained universal love and veneration, by a most affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return, he went to *Dover*, to have an interview with the earl of *Flanders*ⁿ; where, after a short sickness, he died of the *Iliac* passion, together with his old distemper the hæmorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of *October*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

ⁿ The earl of *Flanders* was a potent sovereign on the Continent, and had landed at *Dover*, in order to meet and confer with the king.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his person tall and graceful, of great strength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of most virtues that can be useful in a king towards the happiness of his subjects or himself; courtesy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; especially the last, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly consistent with prudence, or his own safety. If we except his usurpation of the crown, he must be allowed a prince of great justice, which most writers affirm to have been always unblemished, except in that single instance: for, as to his treatment of the bishops and the earl of *Chester*, it seems very excusable by the necessity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not used that proceeding with the latter, it would have cost him his crown. Perhaps his injustice to the empress might likewise admit a little extenuation. Four kings successively had sat on the throne without any regard to linal descent; a period beyond the memory of most men then alive; whereby the people had lost much of that devotion they were used to bear towards an established succession: besides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reason disliked by all who professed to hate innovations.

But the wisdom of this prince was by no means equal to the rest of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predecessor, being elected by the general consent

lent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother, and his own personal merit. He had no disturbance for some time: which he might easily have employed in settling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treasure enough to raise and pay armies, without burthening the subject. His competitor was a woman, whose sex was the least of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a considerable pension: yet with all these advantages he seldom was master of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual struggling, and with frequent danger of losing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifest consequences of several most imprudent steps in his conduct, whereof many instances have been produced in the history of his reign; such as, the unlimited permission of building castles; his raising the siege of a weak place, where the empreis was shut up, and must in a few days have fallen into his hands; his employing the *Flemings* in his wars, and favouring them above his own subjects; and lastly, that abortive project of crowning his son, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by discovering an inclination to violence and injustice that he durst not pursue: whereas it was nothing else but an effect of that hasty and sudden disposition usually ascribed to those of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for authors give it as a part of his

character, to be hot and violent in the beginning of an enterprize, but to slacken and grow cold in the prosecution.

He had a just sense of religion, and was frequent in attending the service of the church, yet reported to be no great friend of the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm in that and some succeeding reigns, and by no means personal to this prince, who deserved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general assemblies, further than that the commons do not seem to have been represented in any of them; for which I can assign no other reason than the will of the king, or the disturbance of the time *. I observe the word *Parliament* is used promiscuously among authors, for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to ascertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deserve particular mention, I have not met with any; unless it should be worth relating, that *Henry* bishop of *Winchester*, the pope's legate, who held frequent synods during this reign, was the first introducer of appeals to *Rome*, in this kingdom; for which he is blamed by all the Monkish historians who give us the account.

* The rise and history of Parliaments had not been cleared up when the Doctor wrote in the beginning of this current century. It is certain, that the Commons had as yet never been represented.

The

The REIGN of
HENRY the SECOND.
A FRAGMENT.

THE spirit of war and contention, which had for a long time possessed the nation, became so effectually laid during the last year of king *Stephen's* reign, that no alteration or disturbance ensued upon his death, although the new king *r*, after he had received intelligence of it, was detained six weeks ¹¹⁵⁴ *q* by contrary winds: besides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues had already begotten so great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that, upon his arrival, he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at *Hofstrebam* ^r about

p Henry was at that time besieging a castle on the frontiers of *Normandy*.

q Five weeks at the most; a month, saith *Brompton*.

^r At *Hofstrebam*, saith *Gervase*. This place is not easy to be found; however, it must be on the *Sussex* or *Hampshire* coast, because the king went directly from the place of his landing to *Winchester*. *Carte* says, he landed Dec. 8, near *Hurst* castle, in the *New Forest*.

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the beginning of *December*, was received at *Winchester* by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and swear fealty to him; and three weeks after was crowned at *Westminster*, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For the further settling of the kingdom, after the long distractions in the preceding reign, he seized on all the castles which remained undestroyed since the last peace between him and king *Stephen*; whereof some he demolished, and trusted others to the government of persons in whom he could confide.

But that which most contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general satisfaction of his subjects, was a proclamation published, commanding all foreigners to leave *England*, enforced with a most effectual clause, whereby a day was fixt, after which it should be capital for any of them to appear; among these was *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*, whose possessions the king seized into his own hands.

These foreigners, generally called *Flemings* by the writers of the *English* story, were a sort of vagabond soldiers of fortune, who, in those ages, under several denominations, infested other parts of *Europe* as well as *England*: they were a mixed people, natives of *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, *Brabant*, and other parts of *Spain* and *Flanders*. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them, but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and spoil. Nor was it an easy matter to get rid of them, when there

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was no further need of their service. In *England* they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whose continual enemies they had been.

After the expulsion of these foreigners, and the forcing a few refractory lords to a surrender of their castles, king *Henry*, like a wise prince, began to consider that a time of settled peace was the fittest juncture to recover the rights of the crown which had been lost by the war. He therefore resumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predecessor; alledging, that they were unalienable in themselves, and besides, that the grants were void, as coming from an usurper. Whether such proceedings are agreeable with justice, I shall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better consult his own safety, than by disabling those whom he renders discontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their possessions.

1136. While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother *Geoffry* was endeavouring by force to possess himself of the earldom of *Anjou*, to which he had fair pretensions; for their father, considering what vast dominions would fall to his eldest son, bequeathed that earldom to the second in his last sickness, and commanded his nobles then about him, to take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be buried until *Henry* (who was then absent) should swear to observe his will. The duke of *Normandy*,

mandy, when he came to assist at his father's obsequies, and found that without his compliance he must draw upon himself the scandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for observance of his will, though very much against his own. But after he was in possession of *England*, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to observe what he had sworn, he prevailed with pope *Adrian* (of *English* birth) to dispense with his oath, and in the second year of his reign went over into *Normandy*, drove his brother entirely out of *Anjou*, and forced him to accept a pension for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the resentment of this unnatural dealing, in a short time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of *Scots*, whom, upon a slight pretence, he took occasion to dispossess of *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, and other places granted by the empress to that prince's father, for his services and assistance in her quarrel against *Stephen*.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquisitions. *Ireland* was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates sent sometimes thither from the court of *Rome*, for urging the payment of annates, or directing other Church affairs, represented the inhabitants as a savage people, over-run with barbarism and superstition: for indeed no na-

tion of *Europe*, where the Christian religion received so early and universal admittance, was ever so late or slow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility^s. Instead of refining their manners by their faith, they had suffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almost defaced, both in doctrine and discipline, after a long course of time, among a people wholly sunk in ignorance and barbarity. There seem to have been two reasons why the inhabitants of that island continued so long uncultivated; first, their subjection or vassalage to so many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, besides those four or five usually assigned to the several provinces. These princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or lust, or treachery, or injustice, which kept them all in a continual state of war. And indeed there is hardly any country, how renowned soever in ancient or modern story, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this state of confusion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conquest becomes subject to a foreign administration.

The other reason why civility made such late entrances into that island, may be imputed to its natural situation, lying more out of the

^s The *Irish* had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for several centuries before the reign of Henry II. See *Bede*.

road of commerce or conquest than any other part of the known world. *All the intercourse the inhabitants had, was only with the Western coasts of *Wales* and *Scotland*, from whence, at least in those ages, they were not like to learn very much politeness^t.

1155. The king, about the second year of his reign, sent ambassadors to pope *Adrian*, with injunctions to desire his licence for reducing the savage people of *Ireland* from their brutish way of living, and subjecting them to the crown of *England*. The king proceeded thus, in order to set up a title to the island, wherein the pope himself pretended to be the lord of the see; for in his letter, which is an answer and grant to the king's requests, he insists upon it, that all islands, upon their admitting the Christian faith, become subject to the see of *Rome*; and the *Irish* themselves avowed the same thing to some of the first conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praises the king's generous design^u, and recommends to him the civilizing the natives, the protection of the Church, and the payment of *Peter-pence*. The ill success of all past endeavours to procure from a people so miserable and irreligious this revenue to the holy see, was a main inducement with the pope to be easy and liberal in his grant; for

^t How far they are since improved, may be seen by Dr. *Johnson's* Tour through the Western Islands in 1774. N.

^u *Rad. de Diecto.*

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the king professed a design of securing its regular payment. ³ However, this expedition was not undertaken until some years after, when there happened an incident to set it forward, as we shall relate in its place. * * * * *

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HENRY

HENRY the SECOND's Character.

Extracted from the MONKS.

*Hard to gather his Character from such bad
AUTHORS.*

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambassadors from both empires, East and West, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breast, broken voice, temperate in meat, using much exercise, just stature, *forma elegantissima, colore subrufo, oculis glaucis*, sharp wit, very great memory, constancy in adversity [and] in felicity, except at last he yielded, because almost forsaken of all; liberal, imposed few tributes, excellent soldier and fortunate, wise and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promising in adversity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in prosperity; covetous to his domesticks and children, although liberal to soldiers and strangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than justice; very lustful, which likewise turned his sons and others from him. *Rosamond* and the labyrinth at *Woodstock*. Not very religious^w; *mortuos milites*

^w *Brompton.**lugens*

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lucens plus quam vitos amans; largus in publico, parcus in privato. Constant in love and hatred, false to his word, morose, a lover of ease. Oppressor of nobles, fullen, and a delayer of justice; *verbo varius & versutus*—Used churchmen well after *Becket's* death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated slaughter and cruelty*. A great memory, and always knew those he once saw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and forwards to *Normandy*, &c. Of most endless desires to increate his dominions. * * *

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Cætera desiderantur.

* *Girald.*

THE

THE TATTLER. N^o 66.*Saturday, September 10, 1709.**Will's Coffee-house, September 9.*

THE subject of the discourse this evening was Eloquence and graceful Action. *Lysander*, who is something particular in his way of thinking and speaking, told us, a man could not be eloquent without action: for the deportment of the body, the turn of the eye, and an apt sound to every word that is uttered, must all conspire to make an accomplished speaker. Action in one that speaks in publick, is the same thing as a good mien in ordinary life. Thus, as a certain insensibility in the countenance recommends a sentence of humour and jest, so it must be a very lively consciousness that gives grace to great sentiments. The jest is to be a thing unexpected; therefore your undesigning manner is a beauty in expressions of mirth: but when you are to talk on a set subject, the more you are moved yourself, the more you will move others.

y This and the three following *Tatlers* are here printed, as promised in vol. XXII. p. 25. N.

There is, said he, a remarkable example of that kind. *Æschines*, a famous orator of antiquity, had pleaded at *Athens* in a great cause against *Demosthenes*; but having lost it, retired to *Rhodes*. Eloquence was then the quality most admired among men; and the magistrates of that place, having heard he had a copy of the speech of *Demosthenes*, desired him to repeat both their pleadings. After his own, he recited also the oration of his antagonist. The people expressed their admiration of both, but more of that of *Demosthenes*. If you are, said he, thus touched with hearing only what that great orator said, how would you have been affected had you seen him speak? for he who hears *Demosthenes* only, loses much the better part of the oration. Certain it is, that they who speak gracefully are very lamely represented in having their speeches read or repeated by unskilful people; for there is something native to each man, so inherent to his thoughts and sentiments, which it is hardly possible for another to give a true idea of. You may observe in common talk, when a sentence of any man's is repeated, an acquaintance of his shall immediately observe, "That is so like him, methinks I see how he looked when he said it."

But of all the people on the earth, there are none who puzzle me so much as the clergy of *Great Britain*, who are, I believe, the most learned body of men now in the world; and yet this art of speaking, with the proper ornaments of voice and gesture, is wholly neglected

glected among them; and I will engage, were a deaf man to behold the greater part of them preach, he would rather think they were reading the contents only of some discourse they intended to make, than actually in the body of an oration, even when they are upon matters of such a nature, as one would believe it were impossible to think of without emotion.

I own there are exceptions to this general observation, and that the Dean^z we heard the other day together is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage; and adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of *Longinus*, an action which would have been approved by *Demosthenes*. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience, who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill: he never attempts your passions until he has convinced your reason. All the objections, which he can form, are laid open

^z "When the amiable character of the Dean is acknowledged to be drawn for Dr. *Atterbury*, I hope I need say no more as to my impartiality." See *Steele's* Preface to his fourth volume of *TATLERS*, N.

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and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermion; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart; and never pretends to shew the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it^a.

Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and shew so much concern for them as to give them all the additional force they were able; it is not possible that nonsense should have so many hearers as you find it has

^a A short, but very excellent, collection of Letters to and from this admirable Prelate may be seen in Mr. Pope's Works. He was made bishop of Rochester in 1713, went into exile in June 1723; and died Feb. 15, 1732.—In Mr. Pope's Letters to a Lady, published by Mr. Doddsley (which we quote with the more pleasure as they are *not* printed in the collection of his Works), June 2, 1723, he says, "I am at present under the afflicting circumstance of taking my last leave of one of the truest friends I ever had, and of one of the greatest men in all polite learning, as well as the most agreeable companion, this nation ever had." On the subject of Friendship, he had thus written in a former Letter; "I have ever believed this as a sacred maxim, that the most ingenious natures are the most sincere; and the most knowing and sensible minds made the best friends. Of all those that I have thought it the felicity of my life to know, I have ever found the most distinguished in capacity, the most distinguished in morality; and those the most to be depended on, whom one esteemed so much as to desire they should be so." N.

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in Dissenting congregations, for no reason in the world, but because it is spoken *extempore*: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears; and there is no way to come at their hearts, but by power over their imaginations.

There is my friend and merry companion *Daniel*: he knows a great deal better than he speaks, and can form a proper discourse as well as any orthodox neighbour. But he knows very well, that to bawl out, My beloved! and the words, Grace! regeneration! sanctification! a new light! the day! the day! ay, my beloved, the day! or rather the night! the night is coming! and judgement will come, when we least think of it! and so forth—He knows, to be vehement, is the only way to come at his audience. *Daniel*, when he sees my friend *Greenhat* come in, can give a good hint, and cry out, This is only for the saints! the regenerated! By this force of action, though mixed with all the incoherence and ribaldry imaginable, *Daniel* can laugh at his diocesan, and grow fat by voluntary subscription, while the parson of the parish goes to law for half his dues. *Daniel* will tell you, It is not the shepherd, but the sheep with the bell, which the flock follows.

Another thing, very wonderful this learned body should omit, is, learning to read; which is a most necessary part of eloquence in one who is to serve at the altar: for there is no man but must be sensible, that the lazy tone, and inarticulate sound, of our common readers,

depre-

depreciates the most proper form of words that were ever extant in any nation or language, to speak their own wants, or His power from whom we ask relief.

There cannot be a greater instance of the power of action than in little parson *Dapper*, who is the common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. This smart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean handkerchief. Thus equipped, he opens his text, shuts his book fairly, shews he has no notes in his Bible, opens both palms, and shews all is fair there too. Thus, with a decisive air, my young man goes on without hesitation; and though from the beginning to the end of his pretty discourse he has not used one proper gesture, yet at the conclusion the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands: "Pray, who is this extraordinary young man?" Thus the force of action is such, that it is more prevalent, even when improper, than all the reason and argument in the world without it.—This Gentleman concluded his discourse by saying, I do not doubt but if our preachers would learn to speak, and our readers to read, within six months time, we should not have a Dissenter within a mile of a church in *Great Britain*.

THE TATLER. N^o 67.*Tuesday, September 13, 1709.*From my own Apartment, *September 12.*

MY province is much larger than at first sight men would imagine; and I shall lose no part of my jurisdiction, which extends not only to futurity, but also is retrospect to things past; and the behaviour of persons, who have long ago acted their parts, is as much liable to my examination, as that of my own cotemporaries.

In order to put the whole race of mankind in their proper distinctions, according to the opinion their cohabitants conceived of them, I have, with very much care, and depth of meditation, thought fit to erect a chamber of Fame; and established certain rules, which are to be observed in admitting members into this illustrious society.

In this chamber of Fame there are to be three tables, but of different lengths; the first is to contain exactly twelve persons; the second, twenty; and the third, an hundred. This is reckoned to be the full number of those who have any competent share of Fame. At the first of these tables are to be placed in their order the twelve most famous persons in the world; not with regard to the things they are famous for, but according to the degree of their

their Fame, whether in valour, wit, or learning. Thus, if a Scholar be more famous than a Soldier, he is to sit above him. Neither must any preference be given to virtue, if the person be not equally famous.

When the first table is filled, the next in renown must be seated at the second, and so on in like manner to the number of twenty; as also in the same order at the third, which is to hold an hundred. At these tables, no regard is to be had to seniority: for if *Julius Caesar* shall be judged more famous than *Romulus* and *Scipio*, he must have the precedence. No person who has not been dead an hundred years, must be offered to a place at any of these tables: and because this is altogether a lay-society, and that sacred persons move upon greater motives than that of Fame, no persons celebrated in Holy Writ, or any ecclesiastical men whatsoever, are to be introduced here.

At the lower end of the room is to be a side-table for persons of great Fame, but dubious existence; such as *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Aeneas*, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and others. But because it is apprehended that there may be great contention about precedence, the proposer humbly desires the opinion of the learned, towards his assistance in placing every person according to his rank, that none may have just occasion of offence. The merits of the cause shall be judged by plurality of voices.

For the more impartial execution of this important affair, it is desired that no man will offer his favourite Hero, Scholar, or Poet;

and that the learned will be pleased to send to Mr. *Bickerstaff*, at Mr. *Mosbeu's*, near *Stationers-hall*, their several lists for the first table only, and in the order they would have them placed; after which the proposer will compare the several lists, and make another for the publick, wherein every name shall be ranked according to the voices it has had. Under this chamber is to be a dark vault for the same number of persons of evil Fame.

It is humbly submitted to consideration, whether the project would not be better, if the persons of true Fame meet in a middle room, those of dubious existence in an upper room, and those of evil Fame in a lower dark room.

It is to be noted, that no Historians are to be admitted at any of these tables; because they are appointed to conduct the several persons to their seats, and are to be made use of as ushers to the assemblies.

I call upon the learned world, to send me their assistance towards this design, it being a matter of too great moment for any one person to determine. But I do assure them, their lists shall be examined with great fidelity; and those that are exposed to the publick, made with all the caution imaginable.

THE TATLER. N^o 74.*Thursday, September 29, 1709.**Grecian Coffee-house, Sept. 29.*

THIS evening I thought fit to notify to the *Literati* of this house, and by that means to all the world, that on *Saturday* the fifteenth of *October* next ensuing, I design to fix my first table of Fame; and desire that such as are acquainted with the characters of the twelve most famous men that have ever appeared in the world, would send in their lists, or name any one man for that table, assigning also his place at it, before that time, upon pain of having such his man of Fame postponed, or placed too high, for ever. I shall not, upon any application whatever, alter the place which upon that day I shall give to any of these Worthies. But whereas there are many who take upon them to admire this Hero, or that Author, upon second hand, I expect each subscriber should underwrite his reason for the place he allots his candidate.

The thing is of the last consequence; for we are about settling the greatest point that ever has been debated in any age; and I shall take precautions accordingly. Let every man who votes consider, that he is now going to give away that, for which the Soldier gave up his rest, his pleasure, and his life; the Scholar resigned his whole series of thought, his midnight repose, and his morning slumbers. In
a word,

a word, he is, as I may say, to be judge of that after-life, which noble spirits prefer to their very real Beings. I hope I shall be forgiven, therefore, if I make some objections against their jury, as they shall occur to me. The whole of the number by whom they are to be tried, are to be scholars. I am persuaded also, that *Aristotle* will be put up by all of that class of men. However, in behalf of others, such as wear the livery of *Aristotle*, the two famous Universities are called upon on this occasion: but I except the men of *Queen's*, *Exeter*, and *Jesus* Colleges, in *Oxford*, who are not to be electors, because he shall not be crowned from an implicit faith in his writings, but receive his honour from such Judges as shall allow him to be censured. Upon this election, as I was just now going to say, I banish all who think and speak after others to concern themselves in it. For which reason, all illiterate distant admirers are forbidden to corrupt the voices, by sending, according to the new mode, any poor students coals and candles for their votes in behalf of such Worthies as they pretend to esteem. All News-writers are also excluded, because they consider Fame as it is a report which gives foundation to the filling up their rhapsodies, and not as it is the emanation or consequence of good and evil actions. These are excepted against as justly as butchers in case of life and death: their familiarity with the greatest names takes off the delicacy of their regard, as dealing in blood makes the *Lani* less tender of spilling it.

THE

THE TATLER. N^o 81.

Saturday, October 15, 1709.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,—
 Quique pii vates, & Phœbo digna locuti;
 Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
 Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

VIRG. Æn. vi. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their country's good,
 In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;—
 Here Poets worthy their inspiring god,
 And of unblemish'd life, make their abode:
 And searching Wits, of more mechanic parts.
 Who grac'd their age with new-invented arts:
 Those who to worth their bounty did extend;
 And those who knew that bounty to commend.

DRYDEN.

From my own Apartment, October 14.

THERE are two kinds of immortality;
 that which the soul really enjoys after this
 life, and that imaginary existence by which
 men live in their fame and reputation. The
 best and greatest actions have proceeded from
 the prospect of the one or the other of these;
 but my design is, to treat only of those who
 have chiefly propos'd to themselves the latter,
 as the principal reward of their labours. It
 was for this reason that I excluded from my
 Tables

Tables of Fame all the great founders and votaries of religion; and it is for this reason also, that I am more than ordinarily anxious to do justice to the persons of whom I am now going to speak; for, since Fame was the only end of all their enterprizes and studies, a man cannot be too scrupulous in allotting them their due proportion of it. It was this consideration which made me call the whole body of the learned to my assistance; to many of whom I must own my obligations for the catalogues of illustrious persons, which they have sent me in upon this occasion. I yesterday employed the whole afternoon in comparing them with each other; which made so strong an impression upon my imagination, that they broke my sleep for the first part of the following night, and at length threw me into a very agreeable vision, which I shall beg leave to describe in all its particulars.

I dreamt that I was conveyed into a wide and boundless plain, that was covered with prodigious multitudes of people, which no man could number. In the midst of it there stood a mountain, with its head above the clouds. The sides were extremely steep, and of such a particular structure, that no creature which was not made in an human figure could possibly ascend it. On a sudden there was heard from the top of it a sound like that of a trumpet; but so exceedingly sweet and harmonious, that it filled the hearts of those who heard it with raptures, and gave such high
and

and delightful sensations, as seemed to animate and raise human nature above itself. This made me very much amazed to find so very few in that innumerable multitude, who had ears fine enough to hear or relish this musick with pleasure: but my wonder abated, when, upon looking round me, I saw most of them attentive to three Syrens, cloathed like goddesses, and distinguished by the names of Sloth, Ignorance, and Pleasure. They were seated on three rocks, amidst a beautiful variety of groves, meadows, and rivulets, that lay on the borders of the mountain. While the base and groveling multitude of different nations, ranks, and ages, were listening to these delusive deities; those of a more erect aspect, and exalted spirit, separated themselves from the rest, and marched in great bodies towards the mountain from whence they heard the sound, which still grew sweeter, the more they listened to it.

On a sudden methought this select band sprang forward, with a resolution to climb the ascent, and follow the call of that heavenly musick. Every one took something with him, that he thought might be of assistance to him in his march. Several had their swords drawn; some carried rolls of paper in their hands; some had compasses; others quadrants; others telescopes; and others pencils; some had laurels on their heads; and others buskins on their legs: in short, there was scarce any instrument of a mechanic art, or liberal science, which was not made use of

on

on this occasion. My good Dæmon, who stood at my right hand during the course of this whole vision, observing in me a burning desire to join that glorious company, told me, he highly approved that generous ardour with which I seemed transported; but at the same time advised me to cover my face with a mask all the while I was to labour on the ascent. I took his counsel, without inquiring into his reasons. The whole body now broke into different parties, and began to climb the precipice by ten thousand different paths. Several got into little alleys, which did not reach far up the hill, before they ended, and led no farther; and I observed, that most of the artizans, which considerably diminished our number, fell into these paths.

We left another considerable body of adventurers behind us, who thought they had discovered bye-ways up the hill, which proved so very intricate and perplexed, that, after having advanced in them a little, they were quite lost among the several turns and windings; and, though they were as active as any in their motions, they made but little progress in the ascent. These, as my guide informed me, were men of subtle tempers and puzzled politicks, who would supply the place of real wisdom with cunning and artifice. Among those who were far advanced in their way, there were some that by one false step fell backward, and lost more ground in a moment, than they had gained for many hours, or could be ever able to recover. We

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were now advanced very high, and observed, that all the different paths, which ran about the sides of the mountain, began to meet in two great roads; which insensibly gathered the whole multitude of travelers into two great bodies. At a little distance from the entrance of each road, there stood an hideous phantom, that opposed our further passage. One of these apparitions had his right hand filled with darts, which he brandished in the face of all who came up that way: crouds ran back at the appearance of it, and cried out, Death. The spectre that guarded the other road, was Envy: she was not armed with weapons of destruction, like the former; but by dreadful hissings, noises of reproach, and a horrid distracted laughter, she appeared more frightful than Death itself, insomuch that abundance of our company were discouraged from passing any further, and some appeared ashamed of having come so far. As for myself, I must confess, my heart shrunk within me, at the sight of these ghastly appearances: but, on a sudden, the voice of the trumpet came more full upon us, so that we felt a new resolution reviving in us; and in proportion as this resolution grew, the terrors before us seemed to vanish. Most of the company, who had swords in their hands, marched on with great spirit, and an air of defiance, up the road that was commanded by Death; while others, who had thought and contemplation in their looks, went forward in a more composed manner up the road

possessed by Envy. The way above these apparitions grew smooth and uniform, and was so delightful, that the travelers went on with pleasure, and in a little time arrived at the top of the mountain. They here began to breathe a delicious kind of æther, and saw all the fields about them covered with a kind of purple light, that made them reflect with satisfaction on their past toils; and diffused a secret joy through the whole assembly, which shewed itself in every look and feature. In the midst of these happy fields there stood a palace of a very glorious structure: it had four great folding-doors, that faced the four several quarters of the world. On the top of it was enthroned the Goddess of the mountain, who smiled upon her votaries, and sounded the silver trumpet which had called them up, and cheered them in their passage to her palace. They had now formed themselves into several divisions; a band of Historians taking their stations at each door, according to the persons whom they were to introduce.

On a sudden, the trumpet which had hitherto sounded only a march, or point of war, now swelled all its notes into triumph and exultation: the whole fabrick shook, and the doors flew open. The first who stepped forward, was a beautiful and blooming hero, and, as I heard by the murmurs round me, *Alexander the Great*. He was conducted by a crowd of Historians. The person who immediately walked before him was remarkable for

for an embroidered garment, who, not being well acquainted with the place, was conducting him to an apartment appointed for the reception of fabulous heroes. The name of this false guide was *Quintus Curtius*. But *Arrian* and *Plutarch*, who knew better the avenues of this palace, conducted him into the great hall, and placed him at the upper end of the first Table. My good Damon, that I might see the whole ceremony, conveyed me to a corner of this room, where I might perceive all that passed, without being seen myself. The next who entered was a charming virgin, leading in a venerable old man that was blind. Under her left arm she bore a harp, and on her head a garland. *Alexander*, who was very well acquainted with *Homer*, stood up at his entrance, and placed him on his right hand. The virgin, who it seems was one of the nine sisters that attended on the Goddess of Fame, smiled with an ineffable grace at their meeting, and retired.

Julius Caesar was now coming forward; and though most of the Historians offered their service to introduce him, he left them at the door, and would have no conductor but himself.

The next who advanced was a man of an homely but chearful aspect, and attended by persons of greater figure than any that appeared on this occasion. *Plato* was on his right hand, and *Xenophon* on his left. He bowed to *Homer*, and sat down by him. It

was expected that *Plato* would himself have taken a place next to his master *Socrates*; but on a sudden there was heard a great clamour of disputant at the door, who appeared with *Aristotle* at the head of them. That philosopher, with some rudeness, but great strength of reason, convinced the whole table, that a title to the fifth place was his due; and took it accordingly.

He had scarce set down, when the same beautiful virgin that had introduced *Homer* brought in another, who hung back at the entrance, and would have excused himself, had not his modesty been overcome by the invitation of all who sat at the table. His guide and behaviour made me easily conclude it was *Virgil*. *Cicero* next appeared, and took his place. He had inquired at the door for one *Luceius* to introduce him; but not finding him there, he contented himself with the attendance of many other writers, who all, except *Sallust*, appeared highly pleased with the office.

We waited some time in expectation of the next Worthy, who came in with a great retinue of historians, whose names I could not learn, most of them being natives of *Carthage*. The person thus conducted, who was *Hannibal*, seemed much disturbed, and could not forbear complaining to the board, of the affronts he had met with among the *Roman* historians, who attempted, says he, to carry me into the subterraneous apartment; and perhaps would have done it, had it not been

for the impartiality of this gentleman, pointing to *Polybius*, who was the only person, except my own countrymen, that was willing to conduct me hither.

The *Carthaginian* took his seat, and *Pompey* entered, with great dignity in his own person, and preceded by several Historians. *Lucan* the Poet was at the head of them, who, observing *Homer* and *Virgil* at the table, was going to sit down himself, had not the latter whispered him, that, whatever pretence he might otherwise have had, he forfeited his claim to it by coming in as one of the Historians. *Lucan* was so exasperated with the repulse, that he muttered something to himself; and was heard to say, that, since he could not have a seat among them himself, he would bring in one who alone had more merit than their whole assembly: upon which he went to the door, and brought in *Cato* of *Utica*. That great man approached the company with such an air, that shewed he contemned the honour which he laid a claim to. Observing the seat opposite to *Cæsar* was vacant, he took possession of it, and spoke two or three smart sentences upon the nature of precedency, which, according to him, consisted not in place, but in intrinsic merit; to which he added, that the most virtuous man, where-ever he was seated, was always at the upper end of the table. *Socrates*, who had a great spirit of raillery with his wisdom, could not forbear smiling at a virtue which took so little pains to make itself agreeable.

Cicero took the occasion to make a long discourse in praise of *Cato*, which he uttered with much vehemence. *Cæsar* answered him with a great deal of seeming temper; but, as I stood at a great distance from them, I was not able to hear one word of what they said. But I could not forbear taking notice, that, in all the discourse which passed at the table, a word or nod from *Homer* decided the controversy.

After a short pause *Augustus* appeared, looking round him with a serene and affable countenance upon all the writers of his age, who strove among themselves which of them should shew him the greatest marks of gratitude and respect. *Virgil* rose from the table to meet him; and though he was an acceptable guest to all, he appeared more such to the learned than the military Worthies. The next man astonished the whole table with his appearance: he was slow, solemn, and silent in his behaviour, and wore a raiment curiously wrought with Hieroglyphicks. As he came into the middle of the room, he threw up the skirt of it, and discovered a golden thigh. *Socrates*, at the sight of it, declared against keeping company with any who were not made of flesh and blood; and therefore desired *Diogenes* the *Laertian* to lead him to the apartment allotted for fabulous Heroes and Worthies of dubious existence. At his going out, he told them, that they did not know whom they dismissed; that he was now *Pythagoras*, the first of Philosophers, and that
formerly

formerly he had been a very brave man at the siege of *Troy*. That may be very true, said *Socrates*; but you forget that you have likewise been a very great harlot in your time. This exclusion made way for *Archimedes*, who came forward with a scheme of mathematical figures in his hand; among which I observed a Cone and a Cylinder.

Seeing this table full, I desired my guide, for variety, to lead me to the fabulous apartment, the roof of which was painted with Gorgons, Chimæras, and Centaurs, with many other emblematical figures, which I wanted both time and skill to unriddle. The first table was almost full: At the upper end sat *Hercules* leaning an arm upon his club; on his right hand were *Achilles* and *Ulysses*, and between them *Aeneas*; on his left were *Hector*, *Theseus*, and *Jason*: the lower end had *Orpheus*, *Æsop*, *Phalaris*, and *Musæus*. The ushers seemed at a loss for a twelfth man, when, methought, to my great joy and surprize, I heard some at the lower end of the table mention *Isaac Bickerstaff*: but those of the upper end received it with disdain; and said, if they must have a *British* Worthy, they would have *Robin Hood*.

THE TATLER. N^o 258.To ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esquire^a.

SIR,

Nov. 22, 1710.

DINING yesterday with Mr. *South-British* and Mr. *William North-Briton*, two gentlemen, who, before you ordered it otherwise, were known by the names of Mr. *English* and Mr. *William Scot*: Among other things, the maid of the house, who in her time, I believe, may have been a *North-British* warming-pan, brought us up a dish of *North-British* collops. We liked our entertainment very well; only we observed the table-cloth, being not so fine as we could have wished, was *North-British* cloth. But the worst of it was, we were disturbed all dinner-time by the noise of the children, who were playing in the paved court at *North-British* hoppers; so we paid our *North-Briton* sooner than we designed, and took coach to *North-Britain* yard, about which place most of us live. We had indeed gone afoot; only we were under some apprehensions, lest a *North-Eritish* mist

^a See the Journal to *Stella*, Dec. 2, 1710.—The Dean observes, in another place, "The modern phrase *Great-Britain* is only to distinguish it from *Little-Britain*, where old cloaths and old books are to be bought and sold." Letter to Alderman Barber, Aug. 8, 1738. N.

Should

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should wet a *South-British* man to the skin.—
We think this matter properly expressed, according to the accuracy of the new style, settled by you in one of your late papers. You will please to give your opinion upon it to, Sir,

Your most humble servants,
J. S. M. P. N. R.

THE TATLER.

VOL. V. N^o 1.

Quis ergo sum saltem, si non sum Sospia? Te interrogo.

Plut. Amphytruo.

Saturday, January 13, 1710-11^b.

IT is impossible perhaps for the best and wisest amongst us, to keep so constant a guard upon our temper, but that we may at one time or other lie open to the strokes of fortune, and such incidents as we cannot foresee. With sentiments of this kind I came home to my

^b See Journal to *Stella*, Jan. 2, and Jan. 11, 1710-11. Two numbers from Mr. *Harrison's* Collection having already appeared in our eleventh volume, we shall here add one more, in which the judicious Reader will readily recognize the letter of *Humphry Wagstaff*; and though the whole paper is not the production of our Author, he may very fairly be allowed to have adopted it by his corrections. N.

S 5 lodgings

lodgings last night, much fatigued with a long and sudden journey from the country, and full of the ungrateful occasion of it. It was natural for me to have immediate recourse to my pen and ink; but, before I would offer to make use of them, I resolved deliberately to tell over a hundred; and when I came to the end of that sum, I found it more adviseable to defer drawing up my intended remonstrance, till I had slept soundly on my resentments. Without any other preface than this, I shall give the world a fair account of the treatment I have lately met with, and leave them to judge whether the uneasiness I have suffered be inconsistent with the character I have generally pretended to. About three weeks since, I received an invitation from a kinsman in *Staffordshire*, to spend my *Christmas* in those parts. Upon taking leave of Mr. *Morpheus*, I put as many papers into his hands as would serve till my return, and charged him, at parting, to be very punctual with the town. In what manner he and Mr. *Lillie* have been tampered with since, I cannot say; they have given me my revenge, if I desired any, by allowing their names to an idle paper, that in all human probability cannot live a fortnight to an end.

Myself, and the family I was with, were in the midst of gaiety and a plentiful entertainment, when I received a letter from my sister *Jenny*, who, after mentioning some little affairs I had intrusted to her, goes on thus: "The inclosed, I believe, will give you some surprize, as it has already astonished every
" body

“ body here : who Mr. *Steele* is, that sub-
 “ scribes it, I do not know, any more than I
 “ can comprehend what could induce him to
 “ it. *Morpheus* and *Lillie*, I am told, are both
 “ in the secret. I shall not presume to instruct
 “ you ; but hope you will use some means to
 “ disappoint the ill-nature of those who are
 “ taking pains to deprive the world of one of
 “ its most reasonable entertainments. I am,
 “ &c.”

I am to thank my sister for her compliment ;
 but, be that as it will, I shall not easily be dis-
 couraged from my former undertaking. In
 pursuance of it, I was obliged upon this no-
 tice to take places in the coach for myself and
 my maid with the utmost expedition, lest I
 should, in a short time, be railled out of my
 existence, as some people will needs fancy Mr.
Partridge has been, and the real *Izaak Kicker-
 staff* have passed for a creature of Mr. *Steele's*
 imagination. This illusion might have hoped
 for some tolerable success, if I had not more
 than once produced my person in a crowded
 theatre ; and such a person as Mr. *Steele*, if I
 am not misinformed in the gentleman, would
 hardly think it an advantage to own, though
 I should throw him in all the little honour I
 have gained by my *lucubrations*. I may be al-
 lowed, perhaps, to understand pleasantry as
 well as other men, and can (in the usual
 phrase) take a jest without being angry ; but
 I appeal to the world, whether the gentleman
 has not carried it too far, and whether he ought
 not to make a public recantation, if the credu-

lity of some unthinking people should force me to insist upon it. The following letter is just come to hand, and I think it not improper to be inserted in this paper.

“ To Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.

“ SIR,

“ I am extremely glad to hear you are
 “ come to town; for in your absence we were
 “ all mightily surprized with an unaccount-
 “ able paper, signed *Richard Steele*, who is
 “ esteemed by those that know him, to be a
 “ man of wit and honour; and therefore we
 “ took it either to be a counterfeit, or a per-
 “ fect *Christmas* frolick of that ingenious gen-
 “ tleman. But then, your paper ceasing im-
 “ mediately after, we were at a loss what to
 “ think: if you were weary of the work you
 “ had so long carried on, and had given this
 “ Mr. *Steele* orders to signify so to the pub-
 “ lick, he should have said it in plain terms:
 “ but, as that paper is worded, one would be
 “ apt to judge, that he had a mind to per-
 “ suade the town that there was some analogy
 “ between *Isaac Bickerstaff* and him. Possi-
 “ bly there may be a secret in this which I
 “ cannot enter into: but I flatter myself that
 “ you never had any thoughts of giving over
 “ your labours for the benefit of mankind.
 “ when you cannot but know how many sub-
 “ jects are yet unexhausted, and how many
 “ others, as being less obvious, are wholly
 “ untouched. I dare promise, not only for
 “ myself, but many other abler friends, that
 “ we

" we shall still continue to furnish you with
 " hints on all proper occasions, which is all
 " your genius requires. I think, by the way,
 " you cannot in honour have any more to do
 " with *Morpheus* and *Lillie*, who have gone
 " beyond the ordinary pitch of assurance, and
 " transgressed the very letter of the proverb,
 " by endeavouring to cheat you of your
 " Christian and surname too. Wishing you,
 " Sir, long to live, for our instruction and di-
 " version, and to the defeating of all im-
 " postors^c, I remain,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" and affectionate kinsman,

" *Humphry Wagstaff.*"

^c Journal, Jan. 13. "To day little *Harrison's* new
 " *Tatler* came out; there is not much in it, but I hope
 " he will mend. You must understand that, upon
 " *Steele's* leaving off, there were two or three scrub
 " *Tatlers* came out, and one of them holds on still,
 " and to day it advertised against *Harrison's*; and
 " so there must be disputes which are genuine, like
 " the straps for razors."—Besides the *Tatlers* here
 copied, and those in vol. XI, there are many others
 which may be ascribed to the Dean. It is but jus-
 tice, however, to mention *four*, which (having
 been said to be his) he has thus disclaimed.—"The
 " *Tatler* [237] upon *Milton's Spear* is not mine."
 Journal, Nov. 1, 1710.—"The *Tatler* of the *Sbil-*
 " *ling* [249] was not mine, more than the hints
 " and two or three general heads for it. I have
 " much more important business on my hands."
 Nov. 8.—"You are mistaken in your guesses about
 " *Tatlers*: I did neither write that on *Noses* [260]
 " nor *Religion* [257]; nor do I send him of late
 " any hints at all." Jan. 1.—N.

THE

THE EXAMINER. N^o 45^d.*Thursday, June 14, 1711.**Melius non tangere clamo.*

WHEN a general has conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often finds it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts, and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head, and infest the neighbourhood. This case exactly resembles mine. I count the main body of the *Whigs* entirely subdued; at least, till they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at leisure to *Examine* inferior abuses. The business I have left is, to fall on those wretches that will be still keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining but their bare good-will towards *faction* and *mischief*: I mean the present set of writers, whom I have suffered, without molestation, so long to infest the town. Were there not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction. But as my endeavour hath been to expose the gross impositions of the *sal-*

^d See the *Journal to Stells*, Nov. 3, 1711. N.
len

len party, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of these their *factors*, to shew how little those writers for the *Whigs* were guided by conscience or honour, their business being only to gratify a prevailing interest.

“ To the Right Honourable the present Ministry; the humble Petition of the Party-writers to the late Ministry,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That your petitioners have served their time to the trade of writing *pamphlets* and *weekly papers*, in defence of the *Whigs*, against the church of *England*, and the Christian religion. and her majesty's prerogative, and her title to the crown: That, since the late change of ministry, and meeting of this parliament, the said trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pamphlets and papers much less than formerly; and it is feared, to our further prejudice, that *The Examiner* may discontinue writing, whereby some of your petitioners will be brought to utter distress, forasmuch as, through false quotations, noted absurdities, and other legal abuses, many of your petitioners, to their great comfort and support, were enabled to pick up a weekly subsistence out of the said *Examiner*.

“ That your said poor petitioners did humbly offer your honours to write in defence of the late change of ministry and parliament,
“ much

“ much cheaper than they did for your predecessors; which your honours were pleased
“ to refuse.

“ Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners are under daily apprehension, that
“ your honours will forbid them to follow the
“ said trade any longer; by which your petitioners, to the number of fourscore, with
“ their wives and families, will inevitably
“ starve, having been bound to no other
“ calling.

“ Your petitioners desire your honours will
“ tenderly consider the premises, and suffer
“ your said petitioners to continue
“ their trade (those who set them at
“ work being still willing to employ
“ them, though at lower rates); and
“ your said petitioners will give security
“ to make use of the *same stuff*, and
“ dress in the *same manner*, as they always did, and no other.

“ *And your petitioners, &c.*”

I N D E X

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1. * Mr. *Deane Savist* promises to point them

* Few characters could have afforded so great a variety of faults and beauties. Few men have been

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 SWIFTIANA. See *Similies*.

Taylor.

been more known and admired, or more envied and censured, than Dr. *Swift*. From the gifts of nature, he had great powers; and, from the imperfections of humanity, he had many failings. I always considered him as an *abstract and brief chronicle of the times*; no man being better acquainted with human nature, both in the highest and in the lowest scenes of life. His friends and correspondents were the greatest and most eminent men of the age. The sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet; and although he industriously avoided an ostentation of learning, and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store; yet his knowledge in the antient authors evidently appears, from the strength of his sentiments, and the classic correctness of his style.

ORRERY.

The character of his Life will appear like that of his Writings. They will both bear to be reconsidered and re-examined with the utmost attention; and will always discover new beauties and excellencies upon every examination. They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulance, ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy interpose, to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce, that the eclipse will not last long. No man ever deserved better of any country than *Swift* did of his: a steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful

counsellor,

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Temple

counsellor, under many severe trials, and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune!—He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour, to Ireland,

DELANEY.

If we deduct somewhat from report, which is apt to add to the oddities of men of note, the greatest part of his conduct may be accounted for by the common operations of human nature.—“Choler, Lord Bacon observes, puts men on action; when it grows adust, it turns to melancholy.” In Swift, that humour seems to have been predominant; governed, however, even in his younger days, with a fund of good sense, and an early experience of the world. He was thrown luckily, in the prime of life, into the family of a great personage, where he had the happiness of an interview with a monarch; from whence he had reasonable hopes of satisfying his towering ambition. But he found them followed by nothing but disappointment. In a course of years, honours seemed a second time to make their court to him. He came into favour with a prime-minister under another reign, even when different principles prevailed from those which guided his former patron. A rare felicity! which, however, in the event, served only to convince him, that he was banished to Ireland for life, and that all hopes were cut off of his rising, even there, any higher than the Deanry. What would one of his parts and wit do in such a situation, but drop mankind as much as

Temple family. Dr. *Swift* on ill terms with them in 1710, iv. 9.

possible, especially the higher class of it, which to a man of humour is naturally a restraint; where, at best, as he observes, the only difference is, to have two candles on the table instead of one? What, I say, would such a one do, but cultivate an acquaintance with those who were disappointed like himself? what, but write compliments on ladies, lampoons on men in power, sarcasms on human nature, trifle away life, between whim and resentment, just as the bile arose or subsided? He had sense, and I believe religion, enough to keep him from vice; and, from a consciousness of his integrity, was less solicitous about the appearances of virtue, or even decency, which is often the counterfeit of it. The patriot principle, which he had imbibed in queen *Anne's* reign, lurked at the bottom of his heart; which, as it was more active in those days than since, sometimes roused him to defend the church, and *Ireland*, his asylum, against any new incroachments.—View him now in his decline. Passions decay, and the lamp of life and reason grows dim. It is the fate of many, I may say most geniuses, who have secluded themselves from the world, to lose their senses in their old age; especially those who have worn them out in thought and application. Providence, perhaps, has therefore ordained, that the eyes, the inlets of knowledge, should be impaired; before the understanding, the repository of it, is decayed; that the defects of the former may protract the latter. Few of us are enough sensible how much the conjugal tie, and the several connexions which follow from it; how much even domestic troubles, when surmountable, are the physick of the soul; which, at the same time that they quicken the senses, preserve them too. B.

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Thornbill (Mr.). Kills Sir *Cholmley Dering* in a duel, iv. 274. Is afterwards killed himself, by two assassins, 354.

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Tisdall (Dr.). Dr. *Swift's* letter to him on the subject of his addresses to Mrs. *Johnson*, i. 4. Dr. *Swift* very candidly assures him, that he never saw any person whose conversation he entirely valued but Mrs. *Johnson's*, 5. And freely gives his consent to her marrying Dr. *Tisdall*, 6. See also, iv. 57.

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